

**Moving out or staying put? Neighborhood choice, notions of
community, and identification(s) of upwardly mobile
Turkish-Germans**

Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

doctor philosophiae (dr. phil.)

eingereicht am 16.04.2014 an der
Kultur-, Sozial- und Bildungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Humboldt-
Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Stadt-und
Regionalsoziologie

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Verteidigt am 21.05.2014

Abstract

The present work deals with neighborhood choice of upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, analyzing their motives for staying in a socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood, or moving from a disadvantaged to a more advantaged one. Furthermore, the consequences of moving or staying are analyzed, in terms of social capital, network composition, and processes of identification. The focus is twofold. First, the recurring question is for the relevance of place, and specifically the neighborhood as community. Second, particularly when dealing with networks and identification(s), the question is whether there are processes of groupness and social closure, based on ethnic or social class background.

For the Turkish-Germans, the neighborhood presents a place which ideally contains a particular set of social relations, emerging through public familiarity and expressed in shared moments of sociability. If these characteristics are present in a neighborhood, irrespective of socioeconomic status, practical and symbolic neighborhood use is high. If a neighborhood, on the other hand, is characterized by anonymity and hostility towards ethnic minorities, neighborhood use is low. In turn, other places with high public familiarity and sociable relations are frequented, which then become important in symbolic terms, for identification.

Acknowledgements

During my PhD phase, somebody asked me how I came up with my topic. I had no idea. What I do remember, though, is how I went to Talja's office to talk about the possibility of doing a PhD with her. Since I did not know what she would think about my topic, I had prepared two additional abstracts with different topics. She read my abstract and simply said 'Alright, so go on with that'. So I went on. And I did so with the support from a lot of people, notably of course from Talja herself. 'Catching' her was sometimes a challenge (a ten second elevator ride can become very precious), but the discussions were always extremely helpful. Her encouragement always made me feel that my work was indeed valuable.

I am grateful to the Research Institute for Urban and Regional Development in Dortmund (ILS) which funded my PhD, and the Caroline von Humboldt Stiftung for the research award which made possible a highly valuable research stay at the Centre d'études européennes (CEE) at Sciences Po Paris.

Participating in various PhD colloquia, at Humboldt University, the ILS, and the CEE, provided me with a lot of valuable input – thanks to all my fellow PhD colleagues, and particularly to Tobias, with whom I also shared many 'intellectual' train rides to and from Dortmund! The same thanks goes to the RC21 summer school group, it was a pleasure working with all of you.

In Paris, Patrick Le Galès, Tommaso Vitale, Agnes van Zanten and various others were very generous with the time they took to discuss various papers and chapters with me, through which I made great advancements with my work.

Thanks to my parents, for their support and continuous interest, and my friends, who always supported me, not only with reading chapters and constant encouragement, but also with the right amount of distraction. Romana, Jana, Vera, Muri – you know how important you are!

Particular thanks for reading chapters and other 'intellectual' support goes to Heike, Sarah, Katrin, Ronny, Jana, Karin and Vlad, and to the latter three particularly for last-minute help.

The biggest thanks goes to my beloved sister – for all the practical support and, much more important, for always being there, and for sharing and contributing to the many good moments in life.

The study would obviously not have been possible without the participants, who were nice and open enough to talk to a complete stranger. Although the acquisition of

contacts was not easy, I enjoyed every single interview, and had many great experiences and encounters. Talking for more than two hours, when the participant said he only had half an hour, or going to a participant's office early in the morning for the interview and finding freshly made coffee and a variety of croissants are just two of many more pleasant examples. I hope that I can return, and pass on to others, the kindness that was shown to me.

A last big thanks goes to Hartmut Häußermann, who introduced me to urban sociology, and who told me that Talja 'probably likes what you're doing'. I would have liked him to be able to read my work. He certainly remains an important and influential person to me.

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Chapter one: Introduction and background

1.1. Two puzzling stories and the emerging research issues

Varol is a 43-year old lawyer, married, father of two children, six and ten years old. He has grown up in Wedding, a socioeconomically disadvantaged area in Berlin. Although he liked growing up there and would not have minded to continue living there, he and his wife decided to move to a more advantaged area. They knew they wanted to have children and wanted to live in a neighborhood with good kindergartens and schools. He and his family have been living in a socioeconomically well-off neighborhood in the northern district of Reinickendorf for 13 years now. Varol, however, is not very fond of the place, which is mainly a residential area, with a high share of native-German residents. In contrast, he finds that most residents are rather conservative, meaning that they are suspicious of ethnic minorities and thus not open to contact with their Turkish neighbor. He feels that his attempts to establish contact to them were mostly rejected. Even after 13 years, the residents still watch from their windows when he – the Turkish neighbor – walks along the streets. Due to absence of friendly relations between residents in the neighborhood, Varol spends a lot of time in Wedding, his old neighborhood. Most of his family and friends still live there, and he feels that the neighborhood presents a community. Wedding is still his home, he feels emotionally attached to that neighborhood. In his daily life, Wedding still plays an important role.

Nevcan is a 40-year old single mom, living with her one-year old son in a small but nice apartment in Wedding, a socioeconomically disadvantaged area. Except for two short breaks, she has been living there for the past 20 years, and even had her cosmetics studio there. Nevcan particularly enjoys that the residents know each other in the neighborhood and that they talk to each other in the streets. Moreover, she knows that she can always ask people for help, such as asking young people in the streets to help carrying the stroller up the stairs. Nevcan is also well aware of the social control in the neighborhood. She knows that people sometimes gossip about her, since she is a lone mother, and has bi-racial child. However, she is tough enough not to care about it too much, and still feels that in the end, it is a neighborhood where you can be yourself

and do not have to pretend to be different than you are. And since she had her cosmetic studio in the same area, she knows most residents and appreciates this high level of familiarity. To her, lacking in the neighborhood are cafes where people can hang out in their free-time and meet each other. In recent years, however, she has noticed that the area has become more diverse, and she enjoys hearing many different languages in the area.

Nevcan and Varol's stories, as well as those of forty other Turkish-Germans that will be recounted and analyzed in this book, do not match or at least expand existing theories on neighborhood choice and subsequent practical and symbolic neighborhood use, diversity of networks, and processes of identification.

Cities nowadays are characterized by 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) – in terms of the populations' cultural, ethnic and social background, migration histories, lifestyles, etc. However, in many studies, a homogenizing view prevails, so that we are mostly talking about *lower class* ethnic minorities. Thereby, a deficit perspective predominates, as Slater (2013) has shown for example for the 'cottage industry' of neighborhood effects studies. What happen then is that "suburban middle-class lifestyles are normal, and inner-city, minority lifestyles are pathological" (Bauder 2002 cited in Slater 2013, 381). Another stream of research deals with *white* middle classes' residential preferences, often in connection with gentrification or educational strategies of middle class parents and how these influence neighborhood life and change. In this work, I will move beyond a homogenizing perspective, and deal with upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans¹ in Berlin.

There are several empirical studies in Germany about the geographical distribution and neighborhood conditions of ethnic minorities, some of which also touch the issue of residential mobility (Blasius et al. 2008; Friedrichs & Blasius 2001; Friedrichs & Triemer

¹ The official term would be 'person(s) with migration background'; due to a dissatisfaction of the participants with this term, I decided to different terms, suggested by the participants themselves, such as 'Turkish-Germans', and 'person with Turkish family background'; for reasons of brevity and readability, I sometimes use the term 'migrant(s)', which is meant to include 1st and 2nd generation immigrants, and does not imply that every person captured with that term has an own migration history.

2009; Hanhörster & Zimmer-Hegmann 2008; Janßen & Polat 2005; Sauer 2009). Most of these, however, have the shortcoming of failing to describe the exact mechanisms causing some people to move from one neighborhood to another, and some to stay put. In that respect, Häußermann and Siebel (1996) state a lack of data on housing and neighborhood selection of ethnic minorities that goes beyond simple quantitative descriptions of where ethnic minorities live. Moreover, quantitative studies on mobility do not detect background and motives of neighborhood selection. Hence, there is a need for research that does more than description and truly explains neighborhood selection of people with migration background. This is a gap I want to contribute filling with this study.

My research question, accordingly, is *why some upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans move and others stay put, and what consequences that residential choice has for social capital, networks and identification processes*.

With this question, and the focus on upwardly-mobile Turkish-Germans, living in socioeconomically disadvantaged as well as advantaged neighborhoods, I will move beyond two prevailing perspectives in urban sociology. First of all, (community) studies dealing with ethnic minorities often focus on low-income groups in disadvantaged neighborhoods, taking this focus as a natural one, rather than explaining why they chose this particular focus on the double-disadvantage. Studies in Germany mostly discuss social and spatial segregation of lower class Turkish migrants (Blasius et al. 2008; Friedrichs & Blasius 2001; Friedrichs & Triemer 2009; Janßen & Polat 2005), giving the impression that there is no upward mobility among people with a Turkish family background. Furthermore, studies analyzing neighborhood choice of social groups other than lower classes mostly deal with middle class whites, sometimes not even mentioning the issue of ethnicity, and rarely explaining or reflecting on the focus on only white middle-classes (cf. Byrne 2009).

Explaining residential mobility

Usually, mobility is explained as resulting from preference or individual choice and structural factors (cf. Doff 2010 for an overview). Whereas the first one includes

arguments of networks and identity, the latter one includes references to class position, discrimination in the housing market, and housing prices, among others. To limit structural factors, particularly income, as variables explaining residential choice, the current study focuses on upwardly-mobile employed Turkish-Germans. They are not dependent on the social housing or low-rent housing sector, but have certain financial means which give them some choice in housing and neighborhood selection. In addition, Turkish-Germans spoke the German language fluently, so that a disadvantage in the housing search on the basis of insufficient language skill could be excluded. They were thus not relying on the 'ethnic' segment of the housing market, but were able to and did use official channels such as housing ads in newspapers and online.

For this particular group of upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, what I want to find out then is the difference between movers and stayers regarding the following sets of explanatory variables and their interplay:

- *Spatial factors* (geographical spread of amenities, access to schools and work, transportation, quality of housing)
- *Social ties and social capital* (including family, friends, peer groups and their localness)
- *Identities / identification* (feeling more or less 'Turkish' or 'German', as well as local and class-based identifications)

Questions I ask are, for example, what are the determining factors for people to leave a socioeconomically weak, possibly stigmatized neighborhood, if they have the means to do so? It may be possible that some residents prefer to stay put, due to ties with fellow residents, or existing networks that benefit them (cf. Farwick 2009; Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993). Besides this, they might expect to be stigmatized or discriminated in a neighborhood with a high share of native-Germans, which may lead them to remain in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area, even though it is not corresponding to their ideal neighborhood, regarding available amenities and access to

resources. If that is the case, a consequence may be a focus on other neighborhoods in daily life, and low levels of attachment to the neighborhood of residence.

To assess the relevance of local social capital, we need to ask how people perceive the neighborhood, how active and involved they are, and what perspectives they see for an improvement of their or other residents' living situation in a particular neighborhood (if they see need for improvement at all). Thinking about different circles of identification (Swaan 1995), we also have to assess whether the neighborhood as a community matters for social capital. Maybe a 'community' based on the same ethnic or class background is more important than one based on shared place of residence.

On the other hand, we want to know the main factors that drive people out of a disadvantaged neighborhood. Does the neighborhood as a place (and its community, if there is such) matter at all (cf. May 1996)? As geographer Butler has shown for a London neighborhood (Butler 2003), although people live in the same neighborhood, they still live in different social worlds. For people who have moved, the question arises whether they also find new neighbors (in the social sense) by developing ties to fellow residents, and whether they maintain ties with residents of their former neighborhood. In addition to the present or previous neighborhood of residence, other places in the city may also be important the development and maintenance of ties (cf. Zhou 1992; Luttmer 2005).

Relevance

The research question about residential choice and its consequences for neighborhood use, networks and identifications is relevant in several ways. As pointed out, more research has to be done that tackles the question of why ethnic minorities move out of or stay in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area. The focus is on the neighborhood because it still presents an important site where people spend time and interact with each other (cf. Blokland 2003b; May 1996; Pahl 1991). Whether or not ties between residents are built is to be assessed, but due to spatial proximity, the neighborhood at least is a *potential* place for the formation of ties. The research therefore plays into notions of the neighborhood as community, meaning that it may be a place of

important local social ties, to friends, family members or peer groups. So the question is whether a neighborhood also forms a community, and if so, what kind of community matters - ethnic or social? If the community is important it is possible that people move to another neighborhood (e.g. because of better educational opportunities for their children) but keep their ties to the former community. In other words – social ties may be more important than places (cf. Eijk 2010).

Relating to social ties is the spatial dimension of social capital. This relates to the question whether the neighborhood or community matters regarding “where your contacts are in a social structure” (Briggs 1998, 186; cf. also Blasius et al. 2008; Farwick 2009). I want to examine whether people who move from a socioeconomically disadvantaged to a more advantaged neighborhood, develop more social capital than those who stay. While this has been extensively researched in the USA (cf. Curley 2008; Kleit 2005), the scale and nature of European cities as well as the welfare state context make such findings not automatically suitable for generalizations in the European context. At the same time, it is as interesting and important to know through what kinds of community upwardly mobile migrants provide their own social capital.

This also goes into the question of the heterogeneity or homogeneity of social networks (cf. Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954). Does living in a segregated area automatically lead to segregated networks, and vice versa (cf. Blasius et al. 2008; Farwick 2009; Portes 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993)? Knowing more about the creation of networks within a spatial context can add to explaining whether and when spatial mobility leads to social mobility (or vice versa). Insights into this connection can also be important for urban planners, regarding for example the question whether strategies of desegregation should be pursued. While van Eijk (2010) has recently addressed the topic of network formation in connection with place, the focus in the available research has often been on class, not ethnicity.

All these questions and research issues can be subsumed under two main themes that will surface in the coming chapters. The respective chapters include a more detailed theoretical introduction. In the following, I will nevertheless provide a short overview

of the main theoretical themes. These are, firstly, the notion as well as the influence of place, particularly the neighborhood. Secondly, identification comes up as an important topic, including identification based on ethnic and class background, but also with specific places.

1.2. The main themes

1.2.1. Place & neighborhoods

There has been a long and widely debated discussion in the social sciences on whether or not cities, and place in general, (still) matter. Societies in the Global North have been variously termed, such as mobile societies, or networked societies, claiming that place, meaning the locality where you live (ranging from the scale of the neighborhood, through the city up the national level) does not influence people's lives as much as do economic forces – hence the claim of a global mobile or networked society (cf. Castell 2008, 2010; Urry 2007).

On the other hand, Le Galès (2002) for example has shown in a comparative study of European cities how the forces of globalization, that do form the basis of Urry's or Castell's work as well, do not lead to a decreased importance of cities, but actually strengthen regional developments. Other scholars have illustrated the localness and rootedness of the lives of even the mobile strata in today's (European) societies (Andreotti et al. 2013; Smith & Favell 2006). It seems, then, that Pahl is right in pointing out a certain intellectual snobbishness, saying that "Cosmopolitan intellectuals seem all too ready to forget or to deny the small-scale domesticity of most people's lives" (Pahl 1991, 346, fn.1). The importance of place and spatial proximity has also been dealt with in research on networks. As will be described in more detail in chapter seven, Wellman and others have extensively analyzed the relation between spatial proximity and the development and maintenance, or the strength of ties, pointing out that the neighborhood has lost in significance for ties.

The question, whether and for what place plays a role, will continue to occupy social scientists. But what exactly do we mean by place? "Place is, at once, the buildings, streets, monuments, and open spaces assembled at a certain geographic spot and

actors' interpretations, representations, and identifications" (Gieryn 2000, 466f.). These latter are likely to differ between different actors (e.g. residents). Place is hence relational, whereas a person's interpretation of a place is influenced by or juxtaposed to those of others who share that place. Moreover, it is relational since it is assessed in relation to other places. For the movers, for example, we will see that the current place of residence is often compared to the previous one. A place such as the neighborhood does not simply exist, but it is produced, through interactions between residents, through residents' daily practices, their interpretations of the built environment, which may be very heterogeneous. The making of place is a constant process, never fixed, but always in flux, it is "a simultaneity of stories-so-far" (Massey 2005, 9). In that sense I do not mean to imply in this work a romantic notion of place, which is, as Massey claims, often counter-posed to the more abstract notion of space. Whether or not place plays a role, whether people do find their local place to be "coherent, integrated as authentic, as 'home', a secure retreat" (ibid., 6) is not a starting point, but one of the crucial questions that have to be answered. Taking this as a question and not a given allows accounting for the openness of what place is. The process of 'making' place always includes "connections yet to be made, juxtapositions yet to flower into interaction (...), relations which may or may not be accomplished" (ibid., 11).

The relevance of place can be assessed at different spatial scales, such as the nation, a region or a city. In this book, the crucial spatial scale is even smaller, and the focus is on the neighborhood. The neighborhood is "a geographic section of a larger community or region (e.g., city) that usually contains residents or institutions and has socially distinctive characteristics" (Sampson 2012, 56), the latter including for example the spread and availability of amenities or socioeconomic characteristics. Although one of the smallest spatial scales usually assessed, it is still "large enough to include in essence all the problems of the city, the state, and the nation" (Woods 1914, 578). Not only, however, should the focus lie on the problems, but also on the possibilities and opportunities, e.g. of people from diverse social and ethnic background living together in one area (cf. Maly 2005).

Since the neighborhood is “nested within successively larger communities” (Sampson 2012, 54; cf. also Gieryn 2000), it is always necessary to also inquire about other places that may be important in the organization of people’s daily lives, such as the city as a whole. I hence do not assume an a priori relevance of the neighborhood. Although the neighborhood level is the main level of analysis, the question remains what other spatial levels may be of relevance, for social interaction, the organization of daily life, and processes of identification.

The neighborhood may matter in terms of spatial proximity. People’s actions do not happen in a vacuum but always somewhere, thus “action is embedded in place and may be affected by its placement” (Logan 2012, 508). The neighborhood then is a context for developing relationships, but it does not denote a specific type of relationship (cf. Abrams in Blokland 2003b). Nevertheless, the neighborhood may matter for social interaction as well. A neighbor is always a neighbor in the spatial sense – a person living close by. What is less clear is whether or not the person living close by is also neighbor in the social sense – somebody that we share certain principles of interaction with, whom we interact with. Gieryn points to this social dimension: “The very idea of “neighborhood” is not inherent in any arrangement of streets and houses, but is rather an ongoing practical and discursive production/imagining of a people” (Gieryn 2000, 472).

Furthermore, thinking about places in relational terms also focuses on the relation between places. Logan claims that most research on place takes as a basis the neighborhood where people live, where they have their habitat. However, other places may be just as important, if not even more important than the place of residence. Institutions centered on childcare are particularly important to people with children. Whereas they may more often than not actually be in the same neighborhood, the location of the job is another place that can potentially play an important role. People have various “fields of activities” (Logan 2012, 514), which can be scattered in the city, and the relation to these various places may differ.

Regarding the neighborhood and its relevance in people's lives, most studies assess forms of attachment, including more or less the dimensions introduced by Fischer et al. (1978). These are a person's local institutional ties, sociable activities, local intimates, and forms of affective attachment. These dimensions will play a role in this work as well, but will always be assessed for places in the city in general. If we take 'the' neighborhood to exclusively refer to the environment where a person lives, where she has her house or apartment, then the question is under what circumstances does there develop neighborhood attachment, and whether, why, and under what circumstances there are such forms of attachment to other places. Residents of a city can have affective attachment to many places within a city, not exclusively to their neighborhood. I argue that focusing only on the place of residence when dealing with practical and symbolic neighborhood use or place identification misses out on explaining why people organize their lives around certain places and avoid others. A city may be made up of many *neighborhood-like* places, and the place of residence may actually be a less important one among these. "A sense of belonging is related to the immediate local environment" (Pahl 1991, 353), yet the question has to be answered what these local environments are – not assuming that it is only, maybe not even mainly, the place of residence.

1.2.2. Identification(s), homophily & social closure

Another stream of theory that runs through this work is related to issues of identification, homophily, or in other words groupness and social closure. These are particularly important in this work, since the subject of the study are upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, thus persons who cannot simply be 'put' into one category and who defy the often made homogenization of ethnic minority groups.

As shown, people can feel affective attachment to a place and identify with it. Identifications with places can occur, as can identifications with certain ethnic groups, and people from different social classes. All three forms of identifications are topics (re)emerging in the different chapters. People constantly identify themselves with other (groups of) people. At the same time they draw boundaries to others, indicating

who they are not, or do not want to be. Intersectionality theory draws attention to the different axes of identification that influence people's life experiences. In this regard and in line with the focus on upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, identification processes at the intersection of ethnic background and social class deserve a particular focus in this work.

Dealing with identification(s) always includes dealing with issues of boundary drawing, processes of groupness, and social closure (Lamont & Molnár 2002; Wimmer 2013). According to Weber "a social relationship may provide the parties to it with opportunities for the satisfaction of spiritual or material interests. If the participants expect that the admission of others will lead to an (...) improvement in degree, (...) or the value of the satisfaction, their interests will be in keeping the relationship *open*. If, on the other hand, their expectations are of improving their position by monopolistic tactics, their interest is in a *closed* relationship" (Weber cited in Tilly 2005, 72, emphasis added).

Social closure, the focus on and favoring members of one's own group – mostly on the basis of social class or ethnic background – is often assumed, particularly for ethnic minority groups. Ethnic minorities are attributed a preference to form friendships, marry, or work with people with the same ethnic background. Social closure and groupness is inferred from self-segregating tendencies, in certain neighborhoods, but also in form of the ethnic economy. Ethnic enclaves are taken as the clear example of ethnic minorities' preferences to stay among their own. The quote by Weber, however, points to 'monopolistic tactics' as a reason for keeping relationships closed. This implies that it might be much more important to look at social closure on part of the ethnic majority in a society. Through the accounts of the Turkish-Germans, we will see that this is indeed an important issue, and their openness is often blocked by native-Germans' closeness. This implies that we have to challenge the often made connection between the number ethnic majority persons in an ethnic minority person's network or neighborhood and actual preference. Using these numbers as proxies for (the willingness of) integration overlooks the ethnic majority's potential hostility towards ethnic minorities. Social closure and resorting to forms of groupness cannot simply be

attributed to or only examined for ethnic minority groups, but also for the ethnic majority. That boundary drawing processes by native-Germans do play an important role for identification of Turkish-Germans will be shown throughout the book.

Furthermore, as pointed out, the intersection of ethnic and class background have to be examined more closely. Ethnic minorities are often lumped together and differences in class or lifestyle are ignored. Even if there is an observed closure, indicated by high levels of homophily based on ethnic background in a person's network or neighborhood, there might still be openness or heterophily in class-terms.

Identifying with someone or some place is an essentially relational process, depending on other people, but also varying with time and context. Stressing one's ethnic background may be important in one context, whereas social class may be more influential in another. Paying attention to these many different possibilities, always looking at how external categorization influences self-identification (Jenkins 2000) is essential in this work.

1.3. Structure of the book

In the following chapter, I will introduce method and data used to research the presented issues. I conducted interviews with upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans in Berlin. An important part of the interview consisted in network analysis, an instrument that will be explained, including its inherent difficulties. In this part, some background information on Berlin and its spatial structure, as well as about Turkish migration to Berlin will be provided.

The empirical chapters then develop from practical to symbolic neighborhood use. In *chapter three*, I will give an overview of the participants' family and migration background, educational and professional trajectories, as well as characteristics such as family status. Part of the chapter is then the residential trajectories, including a closer look at the participants' present neighborhoods. Following is a short overview on the Turkish-Germans' practical neighborhood use, which gives a first glimpse of differences between the neighborhoods the movers and stayers live in.

Part four deals with the Turkish-Germans' self-identification based on ethnic and social background. We will see that bi-culturality figures highly in identification processes, and groupness to either Turks or Germans is avoided. Identification based on social class is very formal, and issues of morality are more important than education or income. We will see in that chapter that self-identification is constantly questioned and challenged by social categorization. This particularly helps understand why the participants are weary with identifying as middle class. They feel that for native-Germans, the view prevails that having a Turkish background and being economically successful does not match.

The accounts of self-identification then lead to the motives why some people stay in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods and others move to more advantaged ones. One of the characteristics the participants see as typical for Turkish culture is a high family orientation and we will see that this influences residential choice, and particularly the decision to stay. Characteristics of the neighborhood – particularly the population – explicitly play a role in the decision to move. Also part of *chapter five* is the conception of the neighborhood as place of and for reproduction. For households with children, the neighborhood is first and foremost assessed according to whether or not it provides a safe environment to raise children, with high quality kindergartens and schools. Since the educational facilities in the socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods are considered to be of low quality, a move becomes necessary. This ties in well with results from studies conducted in other European cities such as London or Paris. As in these cities as well, some parents still opt for the local school, something that will also be discussed, with the example of those Turkish-Germans who stayed despite the lower quality educational environment.

Chapter six is the first of three that deals with the consequences of moving or staying. It is about social capital, analyzing whether and how the Turkish-Germans provide their own resources to others. All participants show forms of civic engagement, but the ways and recipients vary. Institutionalized involvement is as common as individual, daily involvement outside any formal organization. Whether institutionalized or not, the provision of resources is mostly to the profit of other people with a Turkish family

background. These may be children, who are mostly reached through the means of sports, other (self-) employed people with a migration background who meet in professional organizations. Or – and here the neighborhood comes in – fellow residents. Particularly the stayers who live in neighborhoods with a high share of other ethnic minorities assist and help out in daily life. With forms of support such as the translation of documents, neighborhood beautification projects, or supporting local education institutions, neighborhood-centered collective efficacy emerges.

In *chapter seven*, the reverse is being dealt with, and I will assess the participants' networks, based on questions of access to resources, emotional as well as instrumental ones. The aim here is two-fold. On the one hand, the relevance of place is once more examined. Are networks local? And if there are local networks, do they differ from more dispersed ones? On the other hand, the issue of homophily comes up. Thereby the networks' ethnic and class diversity is in the foreground. The question is whether or not the networks differ between movers and stayers. An expectation might be, for instance, that movers who live in socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods with a high share of native-Germans, also have more higher-educated, and more native-Germans in their network. What emerges, however, is a rather counter-intuitive pattern. Instead of differentiating between movers and stayers, or living in a socioeconomically advantaged versus disadvantaged neighborhood, respectively, it makes sense to differentiate according to another characteristic of the neighborhood, namely whether it is more urban or residential.

This pattern is taken up again in chapter eight, dealing with the Turkish-Germans' symbolic neighborhood use, or place identification and attachment. We see that the movers whose present neighborhoods they characterize as urban, are as attached to their place of residence as the stayers. In contrast are the movers who live in more residential areas with a high share of native-Germans, and who face hostility and racism in their neighborhoods. For these movers, the neighborhood is not a safe space. For the stayers and the movers living in urban neighborhoods, in contrast, the neighborhood is a safe space, where they feel comfortable and at home. Familiarity and sociability between residents are the crucial elements that have to be present in a

neighborhood in order to being able to identify with it and develop forms of attachment.

Chapter two: Method and case description

This chapter describes the research design and the method applied to answer the research questions. Important in the discussion are the challenges with and shortcomings of the method as well as the sampling strategy.

Following are more information on the context of Berlin, including (1) a description of recent urban developments, particularly in the housing market, and (2) the history of migration from Turkey, including the settlement patterns of migrants.

2.1. Research design & method

In German (urban) sociology, there is not much research on upwardly mobile or middle class ethnic minorities. The research design, thus, had to include descriptive as well as explanatory questions. In a first step, the question was *what* is going on (where do people live, how satisfied are they, how often do they use neighborhood institutions, etc.), to subsequently find out *why* it is going on (cf. Vaus 2001). There was no single clear research question that could be answered by testing a number of hypotheses. Rather, there were some research issues and concerns (cf. Auerbach & Silverstein 2003) that current theory does not address enough or is ambivalent about. Since discovering the *how* and *why* presented a crucial part of the study, a case study design was the most appropriate and potentially effective one (cf. Small 2009).

Concerning the research design, method, and general going-about the research, I oriented myself on the logic of grounded theory. Grounded Theory is “a general methodology, a *way of thinking about and conceptualizing data*” (Strauss & Corbin 1994, 275, italics in original). It is apt for discovering “patterns of action and interaction”, their changes as well as the interplay “with changes of conditions either internal or external to the process itself” (ibid., 278).

The adequate method for this case study design were problem-centered, semi-structured interviews (Mayring 2000; Witzel 2000). Doing interviews, the aim was to discover the formation of motives for moving or staying, and the mechanisms and processes behind the outcomes, in all their complexity. I wanted to understand the

respondents' 'worlds' and experiences, how they interpret their own as well as other people's actions.

The interview guideline contained mostly open questions, on the topics set out in the introduction. They ranged from more re-telling residential trajectories, through neighborhood satisfaction, various forms of voluntary involvement, to questions around identification(s). Except for demographic questions and systematic inquiring about the participant's use of certain institutions and networks, I used open questions in order to let the participants tell their stories. The advantage of using open questions, in a loose order, is the flexibility for the interviewer, so that "new aspects can be brought into the talk, and interesting singular aspects crucial for the research question can be assessed in more detail" (Kleemann et al. 2009, 208, own translation). The flexibility of having an interview guideline has the additional advantage that in the course of research, the "researcher-theorist" (Strauss & Corbin 1994, 180) can adapt the guideline, by modifying, dropping old or adding new questions – mainly through tying the content of the interviews back to theory.

All interviews were recorded, transcribed word-by-word, and then coded. The analysis of the interviews equally stands in the tradition of grounded theory. "In this methodology, theory may be generated initially from the data, or, if existing (*grounded*) theories seem appropriate, then these may be elaborated and modified as incoming data are meticulously played against them" (Strauss & Corbin 1994, 273).

In the first step, every interview transcript was coded as an entity on its own. The coding was a consciously open and creative process, designed as an "inductive-deductive mutual relationship" (Witzel 2000, n.pg.; cf. also Auerbach & Silverstein 2003; Mayring 2000b; Saldana 2009). I started out with some broad codes, derived from the theoretical background. Within the process, these codes were in an inductive process more and more refined. Sub-codes were continuously added.

In addition to the coding process apt for analysis in the grounded theory tradition, I also used the method of extraction (cf. Gläser & Laudel 2006), meaning "reading the

text and deciding which of the contained information are relevant for the analysis” (ibid., 194, own translation). These two ways of approaching the analysis of the interviews lead to different kinds of documents. With the latter method of extraction, particular topics can be analyzed. One document contains quotes from all interviews, ordered according to topics/codes. For example, all parts of the interviews were extracted that contained reasons to move. The analysis of this document allows understanding that topic, but unrelated to the different participants’ stories. Since these stories were equally important, and I wanted to understand every case in its entirety, every interview presented a unit in itself that was coded according to the principles of grounded theory – the second document.

Throughout the coding process, a constant interplay of theoretical codes as well as substantive codes was envisaged (cf. Strauss & Corbin 1994, 277). Some codes derived from theory, which were set up a priori, did not come up in the interviews. These ‘absent codes’, however, are highly important for the interpretation and analysis of the material. In addition, the openness of the coding process and the possibility of adding new codes proved to be crucial as well. For instance, I did not expect such a strong influence of various forms of discrimination on the participants’ lives. Whereas ‘discrimination’ was one general code at the outset, it became more and more refined and eventually consisted of ten sub-codes.

As typical for case study designs, I did not set out to complete a certain number of interviews, but instead do interviews until a *theoretical saturation* was reached (cf. Auerbach & Silverstein 2003). As Small explains for case studies, “the number of units (cases) is unknown until the study is completed; the collection of units is, by design, not representative; each unit has its own probability of selection; and different units are subject to different questionnaires. The first unit or case yields a set of findings and a set of questions that inform the next case”. The study is basically completed when there is no new information gained from the interviews.

In that respect, I am confident that the 41 interviews considered in this book² provide a good cover of the reasons to stay in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood or to move out of such one. The reasons were repeated after only a small number of interviews. However, the consequences of these decisions, patterns of interaction and behaviors, the organization of everyday life, were more diverse, but also started to get repeated, so that I was confident enough to terminate the study after the completion of 41 interviews.

Network Analysis

Part of the interview consisted in a systematic attempt to assess people's networks. Using name generators, I assessed the Turkish-Germans' contacts they turn to for various kinds of emotional and instrumental support. In addition, I did assess the network, so that it was possible for example to identify 'key' persons. The method, including its shortcomings, will be reflected on in chapter seven. Here, I will provide a first description of the instrument.

The aims of network analysis are manifold (Stegbauer 2008), but one strand focuses on measuring a person's network. The person is ego, her contacts are alters. There are many different possibilities to assess a network. I used the name generator, as McCallister and Fischer (1978; cf. also Burt 1984; Fischer 1982) have used it. The Burt instrument asks only one name generating question, namely who a person discussed important personal matters with during the last six months. For the first five people named, Burt goes on to ask interpreters, such as the role of the people, where they have met, who the person feels close to, among others. Fischer's name generator also asks this question, but includes a few more, which also ask for resources that were accessed, such as who did watch the house when the person was on vacation or who the person talked to about problems at work.

Hennig (2008) criticizes that many name generators use stimuli without any theoretical basis on why these certain stimuli were chosen. It is, hence, very important to be clear

² In addition to these 41 interviews, there are another six completed interviews, but since the participants did not fulfil one or two crucial selection criteria (cf. chapter 2.2.), which only turned out during the interview, I cannot include them in the present analysis. Nevertheless, for future analyses of the material or following studies on the topic, they do provide a very good expansion and starting point.

about what the researcher wants to find out. The theoretical background will also be part of chapter seven, but the reason to adopt the network questions was to be able to find out more about the importance of the neighborhood, as place for developing and maintaining ties. Moreover, particularly for ethnic minorities, there is an often assumed preference for living and socializing with people who have the same ethnic background. This has hardly been systematically assessed, however, and there are reasons to question this assumed preference based on ethnic background. Assessing certain characteristics of the contacts generated, gives some insight to this question of homophily based on ethnic and class background.

The name generators used are the following:

- 1) From time to time, people discuss personally relevant topics with other people. Who do you discuss such topics with?
- 2) Do you discuss political issues? If so, with whom?
- 3) Who do you talk to if you have problems at work?
- 4) If you have to do small works in the house (repairs, painting, moving furniture), who would you ask for help?
- 5) Who would you ask in case you need to borrow some small things like tools, or food?
- 6) (If there are children living in the household) Who would you ask if you needed someone to take care of the child(ren)?
- 7) If you are sick, who would you ask to go to the pharmacy or do some grocery shopping for you?
- 8) If you needed help with finding a new apartment or a new job, who would you ask for help?
- 9) If you have a look at this list, is there anyone missing that you would like to add?

For all questions, the Turkish-Germans named several contacts. The exception was the question, who ego would ask for help with a new job or apartment, for which most participants said they would use formal channels such as newspaper advertisement.

It is important to note that for more instrumental support (questions 4-8) I asked for *potential resources*, not as Burt and Fischer (only) for already accessed resources. Since I want to know whether moving to another, socioeconomically better neighborhood, with a higher share of higher status households, makes a difference in access to resources, the potential resources are more important than the ones actually used. A

person does not actually have to have asked for support in order to still feel that she would be able to do so. Thus, the questions are used first and foremost to *generate* contacts, and the focus is then on the characteristics of these contacts. Whether or not resources have been accessed is secondary.

To underline this, asking who he might call for help with small works in the house, Baysan thought about a few people that have helped him already, but then added that he would also ask his neighbor. If I had only asked for resources that had been used already, I would not have gotten the neighbor as contact although he might prove to be important. Another reason is that in contrast to more emotional support, the participants sometimes felt more reluctant or doubtful about whom to ask for instrumental support. An illustration is the question for help in the house with small repairs, or moving stuff. Some of the upwardly mobile participants said that they would not ask for help, for example because they did not want to use their friends' valuable time, but rather pay someone to do this. Nevertheless, the potentiality eased some of this discomfort, because it meant that the person did not in reality have to have asked someone and might never do so.

Following the name generator was the description of the contacts, the 'alteri'. These were: gender, role, place of living, ethnic background, years known, contact frequency, highest educational degree and employment status. After that, the characteristic of the whole network was assessed in more detail. For that, I asked, among other things, which of the contacts the person had dinner with, went to the movies / museums / shopping with, who in their view had the same social or ethnic background, who the person felt close to, who had disappointed him/her, and the five contacts s/he liked the most. This information on the network allows constructing activity and closeness indexes, as done in chapter seven.

Interestingly, there was often a 'aha' effect on part of the participants after the completion of the network part – which was also a welcomed change to the routine of being asked questions and doing the talking for the participants. When I asked

attributes of the people named, the Turkish-Germans often only then recognized that many or most of their contacts had a university degree. During the interview, most participants said that they had a diverse circle of friends – meaning German and Turkish friends, as well as friends from other countries. What they realized with the name generators and sometimes commented on was that their circle of friends was rather homogeneous, not in ethnic but educational background. This is obviously a result of the network generating questions and the functions – emotional and instrumental support - included. Had I asked for other functions, or asked the reverse way of who asks the Turkish-Germans for help, the picture would have likely looked different and the network might have been made up of more contacts with a lower class background.

In general, I am positive to say that the participants liked the interviews and felt comfortable talking to me about the various subjects. Some questions clearly and visibly required some reflection, and the participants did their best to think and answer seriously. They enjoyed talking about their neighborhoods, their involvement in organizations, about friends and family. Even the more controversial, sensitive issues about ethnic and social identification(s) were answered in very reflective ways.

The interviews usually took place in the participants' apartment, their office, or in a café, as suggested by the person. The participants chose where to meet, and obviously selected known places where they felt comfortable. I did not perceive any clear difference in the process or duration of the interview, depending on the meeting place. Most interviews lasted around 1,5 hours, some were terminated quicker and some took up to two hours, whereas the time needed for the completion of the networks questions was mostly around twenty to thirty minutes. The interviews with the stayers were usually shorter, because we only talked about one neighborhood. However, depending on how talkative the person was and how much time s/he had, I tried to keep the interview longer rather than short, and talk about as many topics and in as much detail as possible.

2.2. Selection & sampling of participants

When I started to think about my target group I imagined that it would not be very hard to find a good amount of interview partners. That idea, however, changed quickly. One part of why the search for suitable interview partners was hard is that they had to fulfill several criteria:

- (1) The social status of the neighborhood was important. Since the study envisaged a “systematic contrasting through case comparisons” (Witzel 2000, n. pg.) between movers and stayers, these two groups had to be carefully selected. The stayers had to live in a socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood, whereas the movers had to *have lived* in one such, but moved out to a neighborhood with a higher social status. The disadvantaged areas, regarding e.g. the share of unemployed and share of welfare receivers, were identified a priori, and are Neukölln, Wedding, Moabit/Tiergarten, Kreuzberg-North and Schöneberg-North. The movers have lived in either one of these areas and moved to another one, which I did not limit beforehand.
- (2) Generational Issue: The participants had to have been born in Germany, or at least have spent some considerable time in the country. One reason for that was the language issue. I wanted to avoid discrimination in the housing market on the basis of lacking language skills, which would have inhibited the dimension of choice in the process. A second reason is tied to residence status. The first-generation guest workers were, just as transnational migrants often are, confined to a certain job, often even to a certain firm. The Turkish-Germans part of this study, in contrast, have the German citizenship or an unlimited residence permit, which gives them access to the entire job market, without any restrictions. Discrimination may occur in the job search, just as in the housing search, but again, discrimination due to insufficient language skills should not have been an issue in this regard.

(3) The question of social status was obviously a crucial one. For one, I wanted to make sure that a certain amount of economic capital is present. One selection criterion was thus that the Turkish-Germans had to be employed. Except for four people, the participants did have a stable job. One woman was finishing her studies and hence had several smaller, irregular jobs. Two other women were on maternity leave. And a last one had quit work for some time in order to have more time to care for her two children. Whenever she had time, she was helping out a kin in his café.

I also considered cultural capital, usually indicated by educational degree. Among the younger participants in the sample, those in their early/mid-thirties, some had jobs with a rather moderate income, but they did have a university degree.

(4) Regarding the length of residence, certain criteria had to be fulfilled as well. The stayers should have lived in a socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood for a considerable time. The movers, on the other hand, must not have moved too recently. The reasoning behind that was mainly that an important part of the interview centered on social ties, so it was crucial that the movers had been living in the neighborhood long enough to have been able to build ties. All movers have been in the present neighborhoods for at least a year, but mostly for three to five years.

Whether the person was a renter or homeowner did *not* make a difference in sampling. Berlin is a typical city of renters. About 86% of housing units (1,64 million) in Berlin are rented, whereas only 14% are owned (IBB 2012, 38). Although there is the argument in housing and neighborhood studies that people who own their homes have reflected more on their choice of neighborhood, and that owners care more about their immediate residential environment (cf. Grinstein-Weiss et al. 2011; McCabe 2012; Rohe & Stewart 1996), I did not make it a criterion that movers have connected their change in address to buying a home, because it does not reflect the 'average' process

in Berlin. Moreover, I want to find out what makes people actually think about and reflect on (life in) their neighborhood, and what a neighborhood means to them. Maybe they did get the apartment “by accident” (Becker 1994) and did not really think about the consequences. That is easier to grasp when also considering renters, whose mobility is not bound by the ownership of a house.

In order to find participants, I decided to do convenience sampling (Auerbach & Silverstein 2003), taking any participant that I could possibly get. Most Turkish-Germans were recruited through cold calling. The bulk of participants replied to e-mails or phone calls. To find contacts, I used the Turkish yellow pages for Berlin, a book with 352 pages full of Turkish-owned shops/enterprises. All branches are listed – doctors, lawyers, insurance companies, bakeries, beauty parlors, taxi companies, just to name a few. I used the provided addresses and phone numbers to contact people. The first step was usually an e-mail with a short description of the project and the characteristics the potential participants had to fulfill. This method of directly contacting people was the most effective one. Besides that, I relied on personal contacts in the help of getting interview partners. For direct contact, I also did some neighborhood tours, visiting Turkish businesses, and directly inquiring whether or not there was some person working who might do an interview.

The indirect route - finding participants via organizations or institutions such as kindergartens or schools - was hardly successful (see below).

Due to the research design, the sampling method, and a lack of data that would allow me to actually assess the basic population, the results of this work are neither representative nor un-biased (cf. Small 2009). What I can say, however, again in line with grounded theory is that “if elsewhere approximately similar conditions obtain, then approximately similar consequences should occur” (Strauss & Corbin 1994, 278). Small (2009) criticizes small-n studies for their bias in the selection of participants, meaning that they often share certain characteristics. This bias is too often “controlled away” instead of “understood, developed, and incorporated into [the] understanding

of the cases at hand” (ibid., 14). He maintains that only certain people are willing to participate in a long interview, namely those “who were polite enough to talk to [the researcher], friendly enough to make an appointment based on a stranger’s cold-call, and extroverted enough to share their feelings with this stranger for two hours. These people may have systematically different attitudes about others” (ibid., 12). This is certainly true for my sample and the implications of this will be considered throughout the work.

2.3. The ‘ethnically other’ interviewer

“(I)n all modes of qualitative research the interplay between researcher and the actors studied – if the research is intensive – is likely to result in some degree of reciprocal shaping”

(Strauss & Corbin 1994, 180)

One of the challenges and most sensitive issues while doing the research was the fact that I – a white, native-German interviewer – approached an ethnic minority group. Martiniello and Simon (2005) talk about the responsibility of researchers, particular in the social sciences, when dealing with categorizations, particular of a more sensitive nature such as race and ethnic background, but also gender or class. By using certain categories in our analyses, we run the risk of actually reifying the very categories we aim to deconstruct. The authors take as example the use of statistical categories (cf. also Simon 2005). In establishing contact – usually first by an informative e-mail – I also faced the “key paradox” of having to “take on broad categories that are used to diminish, dominate and exclude” (Simon 2005, 10), in order to give exactly these people a voice, to show the ways of lives which in the end may or may not differ from or even depend on these categories. Social scientists, thus, have to be careful, sensitive and reflexive with analyzing such statistical data, and that is even more important for the actual gathering of data in a qualitative way, such as doing interviews.

During the interviews, I talked with the participants about topics such as identification and experiences with discrimination, and it was clear that on these issues, we could not have had similar experiences (although some participants actually guessed that I had some Southern European background). This is why the interview situation – the

“site of mutual and interacting presentations, where social and institutional identities are fervently experienced, negotiated and accomplished” (Noy 2008, 335) needs some more reflection. As the initial quote by Strauss and Corbin points out, the interviewer and interviewee influence each other, and that is what I want to reflect on in the following. Put bluntly, what has to be considered is the potential influence of me, and my characteristics as being a white, native-German, female, who does not speak one word of Turkish.

The influence of not sharing the same ethnic background already came up during the sampling phase. Among the main reasons not to participate in the study cited among the Turkish-Germans contacted was the lack of time, as well as unease about how Turkish migrants have been portrayed in the media, and a connected unwillingness to participate in any form of interview.

The first issue, the lack of time, is an obvious one, easy to comprehend. Since selected people were employed, mostly full-time, every approaching included some work of convincing the person to spend at least one, but often up to two hours talking to me.

The second issue is the more interesting and problematic one. Problems and challenges with getting access to minority groups, marginalized people, hard-to-reach or hidden populations have been widely documented (Arendell 1997; Browne 2005; Noy 2008). Issues of suspicion regarding the status and background of the researcher, or suspected political agendas, are some of the reported problems.

A reason that some people did not want to participate in the study was the rather negative intellectual public discourse and related news coverage of Turkish migrants in Germany. Media reports often display Turkish welfare recipients who are unwilling to work. The display of the district of Neukölln with its high share of ethnic minorities as Germany’s ghetto is just one example of this negative news coverage (Keller 2008; Meier 2013). In addition, two books by German politicians supported the image of certain ethnic and religious minorities’ integration deficits, leading to the rise of parallel societies (see chapter four). Some of the people I approached told me that they simply did not want to be another person being subject of an ‘investigation’ *because* of the Turkish background. Even explaining that the study was an academic

one, anonymous, and not about integration, did not help. Some wanted to know why I interviewed Turkish migrants, and not Germans or any other ethnic minority group. Not only individuals, but also institutions such as schools and kindergartens, or organizations were often skeptical. The headmasters of schools in the neighborhood of Neukölln – portrayed by the media as the Berlin ‘problem’ area – or of Turkish-German schools apparently have had so many inquiries by journalists and researchers that they became fed up with answering or helping out. The same was true for some migrant or ethnic minority organizations, where staff is always short on time, and they simply did not have time or nerves to help out ‘just another’ researcher. Penrod et al. (2003) point out that the background of the researcher can positively and negatively influence how one gains entry and can approach potential participants. This particularly applies when researching sensitive issues, with groups that may be rather suspicious of the researcher – due to her background. What is required then of the researcher in such a situation is “a heightened sense of self-awareness about (...) personal understandings, beliefs, prejudices, and world view” (Arendell 1997, 342).

Some of the more cautious and skeptical people I was able to convince were in the end surprised that the interview did not contain a single question with the word ‘integration’ in it, and that we did not talk about the ‘typical’ controversial issues such as women wearing a headscarf, or migrants being unwilling to integrate.

When talking about identification, a quick caveat would be that issues of social desirability emerge. I am confident that the participants did not hold back with their opinions and that throughout the interview, we established a trusting atmosphere (cf. Witzel 2000), so that the participants felt comfortable enough to openly tell me their opinions. First of all, the topic of identification(s) emerged after we had already talked for at least thirty minutes, so some rapport had been built by then. Secondly, the Turkish-Germans did not conceal negative opinions either.

Oftentimes, some more positive comments were preceding the negative ones. What the participants stressed, for example, was how happy they were about the opportunities they had in Germany, and that their social mobility would likely not have happened in Turkey. Such expression of thankfulness usually preceded some more

negative comments on Germany or German society. This can be considered an expression of social desirability. Nevertheless, my characteristics as member of the ethnic majority did not prevent them from telling me their views on the German society. Recurring comments such as that they did not mean all Germans, or that I should not take certain comments personally, likewise show that even the sensitive issues were approached in an open manner.

2.4. Whom I did not reach: reflections on the 'gendered' composition of the sample

The sample consists of more men than women. Again, this may be a consequence of the sampling method, as well as the response rate. For example, the attempt to recruit Turkish-Germans who are employed, such as at schools, banks, or insurance companies, did not lead to any interviews. It is possible that more men than women are setting up their own business, which is why I have more men among the participants. Moreover – as in German society in general – women are still underrepresented in well-paying jobs, and this is also true for Turkish-German women. More than men, Turkish women – irrespective of social status – “have higher chances of having a period of inactivity rather than having a prolonged period of higher education” (Tucci et al. 2013, 574, own translation). For people with Turkish background in the state of North Rhine Westphalia, Sauer (2009, 76) has shown that only 21% of women with a Turkish background have a full-time job, 13% have a part-time job. For men with a Turkish background, the numbers are 61% and 3%, respectively, so they are more often employed, and more often full-time.

Another reason for the gender bias is that some women I approached simply did not find the time for an interview, because of the double-burden of having a full time job and being the main care-taker of the children. These patterns are not akin to ethnic minority women. A large body of research has shown that for German women in partnerships, clearly more than fifty percent of the child-rearing and household work is done by them, not their husbands. Koppetsch (1998) for example has shown that in partnerships between men and women from the intellectual bourgeoisie, the envisaged egalitarian share of the work in the household is more of a rhetoric than

actual practice. More than thirty years ago, Beck-Gernsheim (1980) has already shown how women distance themselves from the 'aim' of marriage, due to a feeling that being successful in the job is not compatible with marriage and family life. Nowadays in Germany, issues around equality between men and women are continuously discussed in the politics and the news. One example is the ongoing debate, in Germany as well as in the European Union, on whether or not there should be a law introducing a women's quota, particularly in the governing bodies of companies listed on the stock exchange. The gender pay gap, and a still existing glass ceiling for women continue to be challenges for equality between men and women (Arulampalam et al. 2007; Cotter et al. 2001). This is true for German society in general, and hence also for Turkish-German women – which is one explanation of why they do only account for about a fourth of the cases. Nevertheless, their stories do not differ in any obvious ways from that of the male participants. For practical and symbolic neighborhood use, for example, the evaluations of neighborhood life are similar across gender. One possible reason for the absence of clear differences based on gender may be that except one case, the Turkish-German women did not wear a headscarf – which is a visible symbol of otherness, not only in ethnic, but also religious background (cf. chapter four).

In that sense, it is likely that characteristics other than gender do have an effect on the issues explored in this book.

Lastly, and this is a very weak hypothesis, but deserves more investigation – there were a few women who grew up in socioeconomically advantaged Berlin neighborhoods, and thus did not match the sample criteria. A hypothesis may be that those guest worker parents who had daughter(s) themselves tried to protect them from negative influences in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods, and moved to better areas. In light of research that shows differential parental styles towards girls versus boys, this hypothesis is reasonable. Different authors were able to show that girls spend more time inside the house or other private spaces than boys, who engage in more activities in public space. Likewise, girls spend more time with family or kin in their free-time than boys (cf. Boos-Nünning and Karakasoglu 2005; Plöger 2013). Whether or not differences in parental style may include a 'proactive' move to safer,

socioeconomically advantaged areas remains an open question that has to be investigated.

2.5. The setting: Berlin

Berlin, capital city of Germany and at the same time one of the 16 German federal states, with a population of about 3,5 million, is known mainly due to its history as a divided city. The building of the Berlin wall in 1961 marked the height of the cold war period. The Eastern part of Berlin belonged to the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the Western part to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). During that time, Berlin lost its function as capital city to Bonn, and it was only in 1990, following the fall of the wall, that Berlin became the capital of Germany again. Since the reunification of Germany, Berlin has been searching for its new role in Germany, as well as on the world stage. Although Berlin is focusing on the development of the creative and cultural sector in order to set up its position in a world economy, there continues to be a “gap between the rhetoric of those who claim Berlin is on the path to becoming a global city and the economic realities” (Cochrane & Passmore 2001, 343).

The different political systems, as well as their different approaches to urban development, housing policy and migration (Häussermann et al. 2008; Häussermann & Kapphann 2002), left their marks on the city. The differences are still visible in today's image of the city, for example in form of the typical GDR-buildings (*Plattenbauten*). It is not the intention here to give a detailed account of that history and development. Since migration to Germany was mainly directed to the FRG, I will briefly recount some developments in urban policy that influenced settlement patterns of immigrants. The start of migration more or less overlapped with the start of urban renewal programs, which again had a high impact on districts such as Kreuzberg. This is described in the following part, after which more focus is put on the history of migration, particularly from Turkish guest workers, to Berlin.

2.5.1. Berlin's housing market and urban development

Berlin's housing market in historical perspective

The greatest changes in urban development in West-Berlin occurred due to urban renewal programs. In 1963, the city adopted its first urban renewal program. Targeted were mostly the typical old buildings in the Wilhelminian style. Many of them were dilapidated, sometimes entire neighborhoods were run down. The bulk of rehabilitation work was done by municipal housing associations, which acted on behalf of the city.

Once these associations owned the land, the residents had to be (temporarily) relocated to other apartments and mostly other districts as well. Most of the housing they were resettled to was located on the city's fringes, not in the central part. Following the relocation of the residents, the buildings were torn down, parts of lands were newly combined and rezoned, and construction began.

One major problem that arose from this particular urban renewal approach was that the most (financially) able families and households moved out of the redevelopment area. The redevelopment of an area stretched over several years. Thus, as soon as one area was labeled a redevelopment area, those who had the means to leave did so. As a consequence there were marked changes in the social structure of the affected neighborhoods. In essence, only the 'problem groups' - the poor, immigrants, and elderly people - remained in the area. Ironically, due to the designation of an area as a redevelopment area, the social structure changed in a way that itself became another reason for the rehabilitation: the weak social structure.

One of the largest development areas was Kreuzberg-Kottbusser Tor. Due to the initial plan of the Berlin Senate to build an expressway through the area, extensive redevelopment was planned. The district's delegates, as well as the residents were against the city's plans, but did not have – as common for this phase of urban renewal – any say in the process. In 1974, the New Kreuzberg Centrum was completed, whereby "previously functioning urbanistic structures as well as urban relations" were completely destroyed (Autzen et al. 1984, 39, own translation). The planning of the Kreuzberg Centrum was probably the most obvious manifestation that a top-down

planning approach was not in the interest of the residents. As a consequence, a large protest movement emerged, which eventually did have an effect on policy, so that a new urban renewal approach emerged.

Adding to the adoption of a new approach was the failure of urban renewal to reach its initial aim – to adapt an area's building and social structure to the city's average. The problems of high levels of poverty and social segregation were not solved, but just relocated to the city's fringes, which further marginalized the affected people. Moreover, the newly constructed buildings consisted mainly of social housing, which consequently attracted families from the lower and the lower middle classes. Thus, even after the completion of an area's redevelopment plan, previous residents were displaced, but the weak social structure remained.

In 1977, residents of Kreuzberg did have a success, since the city abandoned the plan to construct the expressway through the area. However, the destruction of buildings continued, even without a clear plan for redevelopment. The residents no longer accepted this approach and started with the squatting of buildings.

A marked change occurred in 1978, with the founding of the 'International Building Exhibition' (*Internationale Bauausstellung*), an organization forwarding a careful and preserving urban renewal (*behutsame Stadterneuerung*), which aimed at conserving the traditional mix of living and working. According to this new approach, infrastructural deficits and social problems were to be solved in the area, with the area's resources - residents who lived in the neighborhood, the existing buildings, and businesses.

Kreuzberg –Kottbusser Tor



Squatter movements: "We will stay"



One major reformation of the careful urban renewal was the inclusion of the residents in the planning process. Tenant associations, tenants consulting services, and other means of inclusion were adopted. These means allowed the residents to get involved in decisions regarding the way and extent of redevelopment and modernization.

Even the careful urban renewal was not without its shortcomings. First, the most vulnerable and poor families still had to move to other districts. Although the rents were subsidized by the government's social welfare program, they were still too expensive to be affordable for low-income households. Hence, the rate of those who were able to stay in the neighborhood was rather low. Besides, not only did displacement occur due to economic factors, but also due to cultural factors. The means of resistance, the tenants' involvement and participation in the planning process mainly attracted those groups with high cultural capital. Due to their higher socio-cultural capital, they were better able to voice their needs and wishes than those with lower socio-cultural capital (Häussermann et al. 2008).

In 1990, after the reunification of Germany, there was another major turn in the way urban redevelopment was conducted. This, however, mainly affected the buildings in the former Eastern districts, emblematic for which is Prenzlauer Berg (Bernt and Holm 2009; Häussermann et al. 2002). The urban (re)development in the Western districts such as Kreuzberg, as well as Neukölln and Wedding, was more or less finished.

Recent developments in the housing market and urban change

Berlin, as other European cities, has been influenced by major changes following the technological revolution and forces of globalization, having various consequences such as increased economic competition between countries, regions and cities, the re-scaling of the welfare state and retreat of the public sector, accompanied by de- or re-regulations (Kazepov 2005; Le Galès 2002; Murie 2005). In Berlin's quest, particularly in political discourse (cf. Colomb 2011), to become Germany's Global City, however, Eckardt (2005, 193) points to the city's "low potential and little dynamic and sustainable developments", and claims that Berlin is in competition with Eastern European cities, rather than with cities on a truly global level.

The field of housing, like in other cities, has been affected by “more competition, more market regulations, and more networks” (Le Galès 2002, 260). Berlin’s housing and property market has also seen the consequences of these changes. The urban renewal activities in the former Eastern part were the last active involvement of the state. Since then, the state has largely withdrawn from its active role.

Due to Berlin’s bleak financial situation, and high level of debts, the Senate decided in 2002 not to continue its subsidies for social housing. Around 28.000 rental units that were built between 1985 and 1997 are not financially assisted anymore. In 2004, moreover, the municipal housing association ‘GSW’ was privatized, which affected the tenants of more than 60,000 units, which are now owned by the investment firms Goldman Sachs and Cerberus. Over the years, they have used the available means to make profit, such as turning rental units into owned apartments, and raising rents. Since 2010, the ‘GSW’ is even listed at the stock exchange.

The retrenchment of the public sector has effects on districts with a high share of social housing units such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln or Wedding. In Kreuzberg – Kottbusser Tor, a protest movement, comprised mainly of local tenants from lower classes and often with migration background, emerged in 2013, protesting against rising rents in and potential evictions from a huge social housing complex – the New Kreuzberg Center (cf. Hecht 2014).

Even in the private housing sector, the city still had some influence, due to its subsidies for renovation, available to private investors and landlords, which it connected to certain conditions such as introducing a rent cap, or reserving some apartments for economically weaker households. These subsidies, however, ended with the investors’ full payment of the credit, which made the building his property, without any regulations attached. With the payment of the credit, the city was no longer able to force owners not to charge market rate rents. Using the example of Prenzlauer Berg, Häussermann (2004) states that whether or not buildings and apartments were modernized depended on the rental unit’s transformation in an owned unit. If an apartment or building is sold, there are no limits on the rent increase, and “renters will, through a moving bonus, be motivated to leave their homes, or they will be tormented,

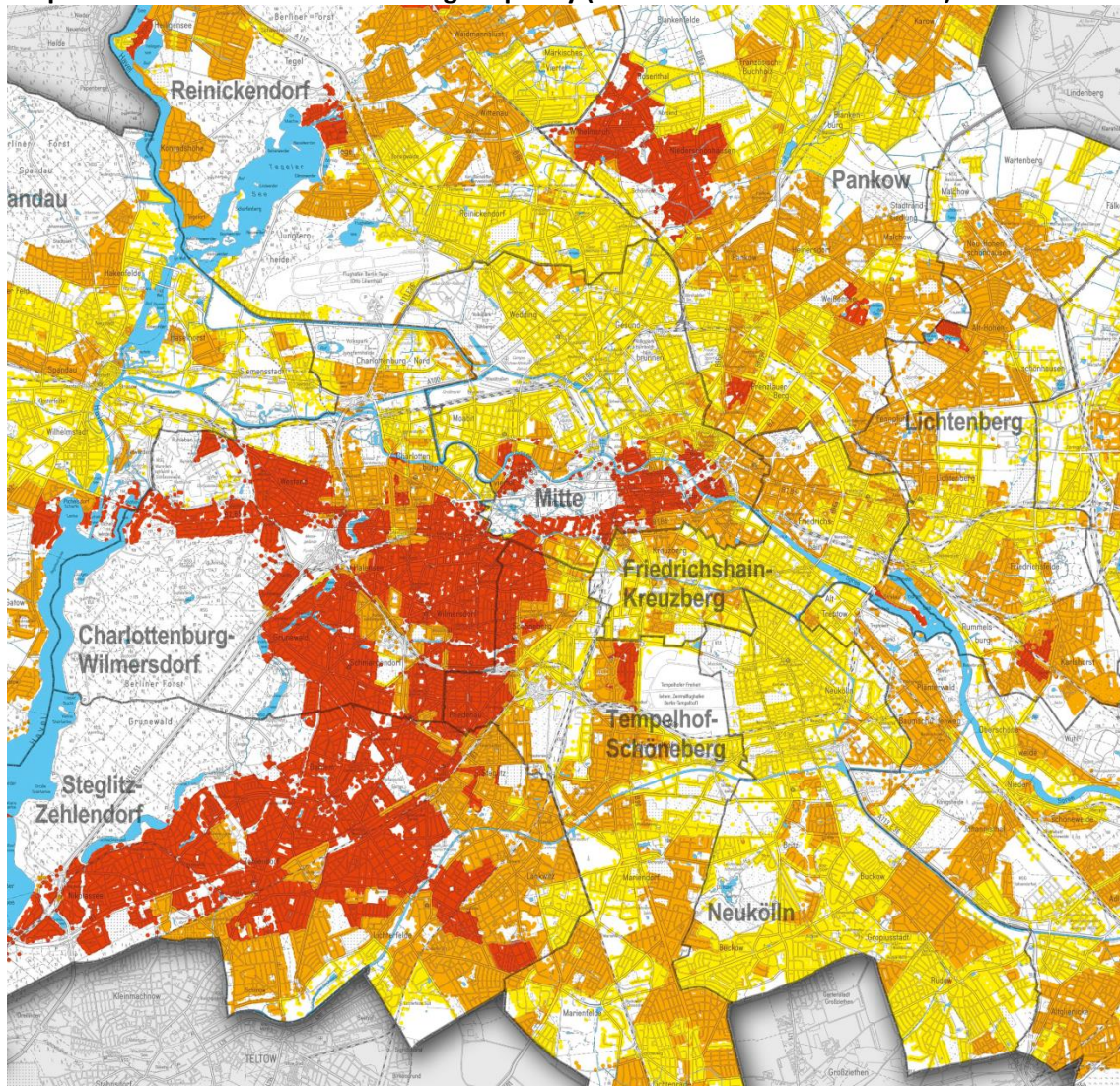
mostly by illegal activities, so long until they enervated move out” (Häussermann 2004, 57).

Rising rents have been an obvious consequence, and in the larger context of gentrification one of the main topics in the news coverage on Berlin urban policy. Other Berlin neighborhoods are also affected by gentrification processes, particularly Mitte and the south of Kreuzberg, but also parts of Neukölln. Expressed in numbers, these developments contributed to a rise in rents for about four percent every year between 2007 and 2012 (BBSR 2013, 5). Apartments with a rent of more than eight Euro per square meter made up only a small proportion of apartments in 2008, but almost thirty percent in 2012 (ibid, 7).

In comparison with other German cities, such as Munich or Hamburg, until around 2009 the rents were still relatively moderate in Berlin. In 2009, for example, a study attributed Berlin a clear locational advantage, due to the low rents and housing prices (Spars & Jacob 2009). However, due to the developments described above - rising rents, the cutback and privatization of social housing – the housing market became increasingly tighter. Germany has remained relatively strong during the recent economic crisis, and buying up buildings in Berlin was seen as a ‘safe’ investment for international higher-income people. The yearly Berlin housing market report summarizes the factors contributing to the increasing demand for housing in Berlin, namely the growing population and number of households, the low level of new constructions, and the demand by investors, “who are looking for a safe haven for their capital investments” (IBB 2012, 15).

The map shows the overall quality of residential locations in Berlin, focusing on the part of Berlin where the participants live. Roughly speaking, the areas characterized as lower-quality residential locations are also those with a higher share of unemployed people and welfare receivers. This category again often overlaps with that of the share of ethnic minorities.

Map 1: Residential location according to quality (based on the rent index 2013)³



Yellow: lower-quality location; Orange: Medium-quality location, Red: High-quality location

In order to understand the settlement patterns of Turkish immigrants in Berlin, I will briefly recount the migration process of this group.

2.5.2. Migration of Turks to Berlin

The migration of Turks is, as we will see, closely connected to urban development. Both left their marks on the city, and the settlement of immigrants in Berlin was largely influenced by the decisions in urban policy sketched out in the previous part.

³ <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/mietspiegel/de/wohnlagenkarte.shtml>

The migration of Turks to (West) Germany began in 1961 with the recruitment agreement (*Anwerbeabkommen*) between Germany and Turkey. Part of the agreement was that Turkish workers (mostly male) came to Germany for two years, and subsequently would return to their home-country. However, Turkish migrants worked longer at the respective work places, and the rotation system did not work in practice (cf. Ceylan 2006). Even though many of the migrants spent some weeks or months of the year in Turkey, the general trend was that the migrants were not guest workers anymore, but became immigrants who stayed in Berlin / Germany (cf. Häussermann & Kapphan 2002). After the stalling of the recruitment agreement in 1973, migration from Turkey did not stop, because many of the former guest workers now had (indefinite) residence permits that included the right of family reunification, which gave them the possibility to reunite with their children and spouses in Germany.

Many guest workers, from Turkey but also Southern European countries, found work in West-Germany's heavily industrialized Rhine and Ruhr areas. In Berlin, immigration lagged behind and most immigrants came after 1968. Within Berlin, which was separated by the wall at that time, most immigrants were housed in neighborhoods close to the wall, which were characterized by poor housing conditions. The concentration of migrants in mainly three districts was due to the allocation policies of the municipal housing associations (Münch 2010). As described above, they let apartments to migrants in the housing stock that was already slated for demolition, and which the 'problem groups' who did not find housing in other neighborhoods or the private rental market, were channeled to (Häussermann et al. 2008).

Due to the increasing percentage of immigrants in these neighborhoods, the Berlin Senate introduced a moving ban (*Zuzugssperre*), prohibiting new migrants to move to the districts of Kreuzberg, Wedding and Tiergarten. Newly arrived migrants had a stamp in their residence permit indicating that they were not allowed to live in the inner-city, ethnically and socially segregated districts. Although it was never really effective, this ban was only lifted in 1990.

Nowadays, the districts of Kreuzberg, Wedding, Tiergarten and Neukölln, that were historically the areas where the immigrants settled, are still those with the highest share of population with a migration background.

Table 1: Population in the Berlin districts 2011, according to migration background (MBG) ⁴

District	Total	Without MBG	With MBG	Origin: Turkey -2012	MBG in % of population
<i>Berlin</i>	<i>3.269.260</i>	<i>2.488.330</i>	<i>780.930</i>	<i>11 454</i>	<i>31,38%</i>
Mitte	314.690	173.240	141.450	38 245	81,65%
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	249.130	161.530	87.600	29 225	54,23%
Pankow	353.240	313.970	39.270	1 746	12,51%
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	289.020	207.050	81.970	12 069	39,59%
Spandau	211.100	159.710	51.390	12 289	32,18%
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	275.820	221.330	54.490	6 729	24,62%
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	315.490	223.750	91.740	22 043	41,00%
Neukölln	297.620	192.430	105.190	36 932	54,66%
Treptow-Köpenick	236.660	221.420	15.240	1 663	6,88%
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	242.220	215.340	26.880	743	12,48%
Lichtenberg	249.410	216.990	32.420	1 165	14,94%
Reinickendorf	234.880	181.570	53.310	656	29,36%

⁴ <https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/basiszeitreihegrafik/bas-zensus-bevoelkerung.asp?Ptyp=300&Sageb=10011&creg=BBB&anzwer=3> and <https://www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de/statis/login.do?guest=guest&db=adbmigration>

It is not easy to find data on ethnic minorities in Germany, particularly not for varying ethnic groups. According to the 2011 census, Berlin had a population of 3 292 400 people, of which 372 300 were foreigners, and 780 900 (23,9%) had a so-called migration background, meaning that they, their parents or grandparents had been born outside Germany. The following table gives a rather crude overview of the population in the Berlin districts, based on migration background. First of all, the spatial scale of the district (*Bezirk*) is very large, particularly after the district reform in 2001 when several districts were merged into bigger ones. The district of 'Mitte', for example, now includes Wedding, Moabit and the former single district of Mitte. Hence, the numbers do not show the sometimes vast inner-district differences in the share of population with migration background.

Mitte, Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain and Neukölln are still the districts with the highest ethnic minority population, whose share is clearly more than fifty percent (Table 1). Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf, Spandau and Tempelhof-Schöneberg also have a higher than average share of residents with migration background. These are also the districts with a high number of residents who migrated from Turkey.

Although the traditional settlement areas are still those where most Turkish migrants live, there are signs of movement between neighborhoods, and an orientation to socioeconomically better areas. In 2012, Mitte, Neukölln and Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain actually lost Turkish population. In contrast, Reinickendorf has a positive net total movement, followed by Steglitz-Zehlendorf. These numbers are very small, but they may still indicate a trend. This trend might even be stronger than the low numbers suggest, because they only include Turks, meaning those who still have the Turkish citizenship. Excluded are Turkish-Germans with a German citizenship. Considering that they are on average of a higher social status and do have the intention to stay in Germany (cf. Sauer 2009), the trend to move out of the disadvantaged inner-city areas might be even stronger.

Table 2: Net intra-urban movement of Turkish migrants (2012)⁵

District	Net total
Mitte	-223
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	-150
Pankow	37
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	41
Spandau	38
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	62
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	+/- 0
Neukölln	-58
Treptow-Köpenick	46
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	+/- 0
Lichtenberg	-51
Reinickendorf	258

The inner-city districts losing Turkish population are actually the ones that are otherwise gaining in population. Since 2005, and particularly in 2011, Berlin has had more people moving in than out. New residents are coming from Germany as well as from other European countries (IBB 2012). Neukölln und Mitte are the districts with the highest gains in population (ibid., 18).

From this historical overview, I will now move to a closer description of the study's participants, including their educational and employment trajectories. A closer look will be paid to the neighborhoods the Turkish-Germans live in, and the spread of amenities in these. This gives at the same time some first insights into the participant's practical neighborhood use.

⁵ *Amt für Statistik Berlin Brandenburg*, data available upon request

Chapter three: Descriptives of the participants

3.1. Upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans in Berlin

Comparing the similarities and difference between the interviewed Turkish-Germans, there is no singular, 'typical' history of growing up in Germany, that would represent any of the different models proposed for how immigrants may fit in to majority society, such as (segmented) assimilation, acculturation, or integration (Berry 1997; Portes & Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Instead, the trajectories are very diverse, regarding education, but also the residential biography, as described in the following parts.

Coming to and growing up in Germany

Most of the participants are second-generation immigrants. Mostly, both parents have been born in Turkey, migrated to Germany as guest workers, and had their child(ren) born in Germany. For some, however, being born and having their parents in Germany still did not mean that they also grew up there. Since many of the guest workers acted on the assumption that they would return 'home', to Turkey, after a few years of working in Germany, they already sent their children to Turkey to live with other family members, often the grandparents or aunts and uncles. The parents only brought their children back from Turkey when they realized that they would spend many more years in Germany than expected.

The children who have been born in Germany, but spent some years of their childhood in Turkey are the so called 'suitcase-children' (*Kofferkinder*, cf. Wilhelm 2011). Ferda, for example, came to Germany when she was four weeks old, with her mother and sister, to reunite with the father and husband. When she was two years old, her mother, who was working full-time and did not find a kindergarten, had to send her to Turkey to live with the aunt. Ferda returned to Berlin when she was seven years old, and had already been in first grade in Turkey.

Aydin and Varol are examples of the so-called 1,5th generation, which includes migrants who have been born in Turkey, but came to Germany at a very young age, so that they grew up largely in Germany. Aydin says that he will never forget the day, when he came to Berlin in February 1984, when he was ten years old. At this time, his father had been

working in Berlin for twenty years already. His plan was to eventually return to Turkey the year that Aydin came to Berlin to spend two months with his father. Two months, however, turned into meanwhile thirty years: *'Then I was here in Germany, in Berlin, I just wanted to spend some holidays here, two months, and then back. And I stayed'*.

The examples of Aydin and Ferda show that during their childhood years, they did not have any security on where they were going to live. The decisions of the parents, whether to move back to Turkey or stay in Germany, changed over the years. Consequently, these children were confronted with some major resettlement in their lives, accompanied by having to fit in another society, of which they did not even speak the language.

In that respect, the second generation migrants had it easier, although they sometimes had to visit the Turkish classes in school, which complicated German language acquisition or the formation of inter-ethnic friendships. Alper, for example, remembers how he only had one German friend in school. Often, the reason for the low number of native-German friends was not the children themselves, but their native-German parents who were suspicious of the Turkish children. Mehri remembers the ignorance of many parents:

If you had German friends and went to their place, you were confronted with stereotypes, as a young boy. The German parents didn't give you anything to eat, because they did not know how to deal with it. Do you eat what they prepare? Do you drink what they drink? But without asking, without ever confronting these issues. Obviously, you just didn't get anything to eat. (...) Or they never offered anything to drink, you know?!

Mehri experienced this as an early instance of racism. Instead of asking him, the parents simply assumed that he would not be allowed, for religious reasons, to have whatever the German child had.

Mehri's example shows that the second generation immigrants experienced in their childhood, the clashes of German and Turkish culture, and the racist tendencies of native-Germans towards them. As Goffman (1986, 33) pointed out, "public school entrance is often reported as the occasion of stigma learning", and this is true for the Turkish-Germans. They were not only treated differently by German parents, but also by racist teachers. Bedia recalls her chemistry teacher saying that all the genetic scum

was assembling in Germany, or her biology teacher never giving the best grade to any student with migration background. *‘Or my German teacher who then said that if I spoke German without any accent, he could admit me to the theatre group’.*

Such racist expressions and the inherent negative labelling of pupils with a Turkish background can have serious consequences. As Bourdieu (1998, 117) points out: “Academic judgments (...) are nowadays undoubtedly one of the crucial factors in the construction of personal identity” (117). These judgements do not only come in the form of evaluation of “technical *skill*” such as grades, but also in judging “social *dignity*” (ibid., 119). Teachers being racist towards pupils with a Turkish family background may contribute to a feeling of less dignity and moral worth of the so-judged person.

Three other Turkish-Germans, Yurday, Sercan and Ozanay, are first-generation immigrants. In contrast to the guest-worker immigrants, they are highly-educated. They came to Germany after having completed the A-level or a first university degree in Turkey. Their aim was to start or continue studying in Germany. Yurday, for example, had his sister and his uncle in Berlin, and with 18 years also wanted to *‘discover the world’*, so he decided to start with his studies in Berlin. Ozanay wanted to study mechanical engineering either in the U.S. or in Germany. His wife preferred Germany, and since he also had a brother there already, they both moved to Berlin.

No matter what immigrant-generation the Turkish-Germans belong to, they do regard Berlin as their home, and – except for one participant – have no plans of moving to Turkey. Their spatial focus in life is Berlin. In that respect, they are different from transnational migrants who plan to be in a city or country for a certain period only and who can hence to a certain degree withdraw from life in that place, because their focus is directed on another place. The Turkish-Germans, their experiences and practices, have to be analyzed from a perspective that treats them as permanent residents who care about their country, city, and neighborhood of residence, and see these places as ‘home’.

Taking detours on the road to upward mobility: education and job training

The diversity of stories only begins with the place(s) of birth and growing up. The education trajectories are likewise diverse. What the participants have in common is that they mostly did not follow the 'straightforward' educational trajectory, including primary school, secondary school, and college. One of the major issues in that regard was the acquisition of the German language. This was a pertinent problem particularly for the 'suitcase-children' and those of the 1,5th generation.

Nasir, who came to Berlin when he was four years old, remembers how his father had basically no idea about the German school system and due to lacking language skills was not able to get any information. The father therefore had to ask an acquaintance to help with signing up his son for school. In school, then, he had huge difficulties because he not only looked different, but did not understand anything:

I didn't speak one word of German, that was tough. I also know that I got home in the evenings (...) and I was crying, because I wasn't able to do my homework, 'cause I didn't understand what they wanted from me. My family, my mom, was not able to help me. Dad was always working. No idea how I muddled through. In the third, fourth grade, there was a change, then it worked. But until then, I really did have problems. Now in retrospect, I am aware of that, but at that time, I just knew, okay you have to cry for a bit and then have another look at the homework, maybe I would understand.

Nasir speaks about the problem that many children of guest workers encountered, namely that their parents did not have sufficient language skills and hence were not able to support their children with school matters.

Aydin was also sent to a regular school, although he did not know any German. He remembers that '*as a very terrible time*'. After three weeks, the head of the school told Aydin's father that it did not make any sense for Aydin to visit this school, because he was not able to understand anything. Subsequently, they sent Aydin to a 'Turkish class'. It was in the 1980s when many guest workers brought their families to Germany, that classes only for Turkish children were established. Being in a class with only Turkish children did obviously not help with learning the German language. So Aydin and others only learned the language through extra personal effort and private lessons. This feeling of not understanding, and being the outsider, is an experience that the

Turkish-Germans who immigrated as children share and which had a major influence on their upbringing and educational paths in Germany.

Learning German and getting prepared for 'Gymnasium' – the only secondary school in Germany that allows you to study at university afterwards – was hardly possible in these Turkish classes. Varol, who came to Germany after visiting the kindergarten in Turkey, is now a successful lawyer, but had many difficulties on the way. As other Turkish-Germans as well, he had very limited German language skills until later in school, when he himself realized that he *wanted* to succeed, and *wanted* to learn German. Such a realization, initially, came from the person herself. In retrospect, the participants cannot point out how this perceived need to finally learn the language sufficiently emerged. They remember that their ambition had changed, in a positive way, and that they then got support from parents and teachers. The parents were not able to support their children with homework, due to insufficient language skills, or a lack of time, but they provided financial help so that the children were able to go to private language courses. Varol and others also point out help and encouragement from single teachers. To succeed in school and get this kind of support, however, the children themselves had to become active first, make themselves noticeable to teachers and show effort.

Due to this high burden put on the students, many Turkish-Germans left school after nine or ten years of schooling, with a degree from a lower or medium secondary school (*Hauptschule* and *Realschule*, respectively). When they have the A-level (*Abitur*) or a university degree, they usually achieved it by taking the extra route. They had to repeat a class, dropped out of school and entered again later – after having worked for a few years or did their higher degrees at an evening school. Even among the now successful professionals, only a few actually obtained a university degree. Many of the Turkish-Germans are 'self-made' men and women. In contrast to the more established middle classes, their achievements did not come easy, but they had to work hard for their educational and occupational achievements (cf. Devine 2004).

Dalim's story is illustrative. Married, father of two children, and living in an apartment in a socioeconomically advantaged neighborhood in Berlin, he is a successful broker for

bi-cultural moderators (TV, radio etc.). He says, with a bit of irony, that his children are raised in a very German-bourgeois way. When it comes to his own education trajectory, however, he points out that *'There again, I belong to the main share of the Turkish community. I don't have job training, I quit, or didn't do it properly. Because I wanted to study'*. Dalim actually dropped out of high school, because he did not get along with his teacher. So he worked for a while, then decided to do his A-levels, and after that went to Heidelberg to study physics. During his studies, he was also working. One day, his boss offered him a promotion at his job, which Dalim took, deciding at the same time to quit his studies:

So now I was in a research institute and thought, now you can also just quit it [studies]. I wouldn't have earned much more with the degree, and then I had this opportunity, and it was fun, was good, so I decided to stay.

Dalim has then for many years worked in the field of market research, until he felt that the job did not comply with his ethical convictions. He wanted to do something different and decided to give it a try setting up his own broker agency.

As Dalim, many of the participants are self-employed, in a variety of sectors. This is partly a result of the method of selection, since I used the Turkish yellow pages that list Turkish-owned businesses, and do not for example contain Turkish bankers, teachers etc. Nevertheless, Turkish migrants are more likely than native-Germans to be self-employed (BBB 2013). Due to the many different kinds of establishing a business, there are no exact data. Moreover, numbers for Berlin only exist for foreigners, not for ethnic minorities with German citizenship. However, a trend is still visible when looking at new startups in 2012 (ibid.): while 93,6 of 10.000 Berlin inhabitants at working age with German citizenship started a new business, the number for people with a citizenship other than German was 414 of 10.000. For Turkish citizens in Berlin, the number is 172,2. Although this is lower than for all foreigners, it is still twice the number of Germans. Moreover, for 'real establishments of a business', meaning businesses that employ at least one person subject to social insurance contributions, Turkish migrants are, "with 24,2 respective establishments per 10.000 working people, almost twice as much involved as the average of foreigners, and almost six times as

much as Germans (4,5/10.000). With 196 'real establishments' by a single person, almost every seventh establishment was set up by a Turk" (ibid., 9, own translation). The participants work in diverse sectors, including gastronomy, the media, driving schools, lawyers, or tax consultancy. These sectors differ from those in which first-generation immigrants often became self-employed, such as the hotel or retail sector (cf. Rusinovic 2006). Second-generation immigrants increasingly become self-employed in the business and service sector (ibid.). They are not, as the previous generation, active in the ethnic economy because of "a protected market position" or "because the environment is supportive of any neophyte capitalist willing to take higher than normal risks" (Aldrich & Waldinger 1990, 117). In their occupations, the Turkish-Germans are not dependent on the ethnic economy – for example for (informal) job training, information networks, or customers: self-employment results from class resources, more than from ethnic resources (Aldrich & Waldinger 1990; Waldinger 1993). Concurrently, the self-employed Turkish-Germans in this sample do not offer ethnic consumer goods, although they have the advantage of being bilingual and hence able to cater to a wider clientele than e.g. monolingual native-Germans. Moreover, many of the self-employed I contacted were listed in the Turkish yellow pages, so they advertise their services to people with the same ethnic background. Among the participants who are not self-employed, some work in community or social services.

Despite the different trajectories, the participants have one thing in common when it comes to education and professional status: compared to their parents, they have experienced upward mobility. Regarding economic and / or cultural capital, the Turkish-Germans have advanced compared to their parents, who were - typical for guest workers - mostly with lower educational background, employed as manual laborers, and with low salary and few opportunities for advancement. Concerning their socioeconomic background, they can be compared with what Butler and Hamnett (2011, 121) call the new middle class in London, which "comprises many new entrants, often from minority ethnic groups and often the first in their families to experience higher education, with ambitions for themselves and especially for their children. (...)

unlike the established ranks of the white middle classes (higher and lower) (...), these groups are not well established on chosen career trajectories". Since I am not doing a study on class, I prefer the term upwardly mobile for the participating Turkish-Germans. Nevertheless, the characteristics that Butler and Hamnett attribute to London's new middle class, particularly the fragility of the newly earned status, so that they have to work towards maintaining and passing on their status, can be transferred to the Turkish-Germans.

In addition to their professional career, most participants were voluntarily involved in different ways, such as for the Turkish community or for the neighborhood (cf. chapter six). Here again, the high levels of involvement may be an effect of using a convenience sample. As pointed out in the methods section, only certain people are willing to do interviews with a complete stranger. Among the 'group' of upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans in Berlin that I contacted, I was able to make appointments probably only with those who were open and cared enough, so to 'sacrifice' some of their time to do an interview, which they do not even have any obvious gains from. It is a possibility that they show such concerns for other people as well in their daily lives.

The kinds of involvement include being politically active in a party (not only on the neighborhood level, but also on the city-level), being active in various Turkish associations, or using one's job as the basis for involvement such as offering free legal advice. Even those who do not consider themselves to be active in any association or organization still show forms of civic engagement. That is because many made 'voluntary involvement' their profession, such as community managers. Others again show voluntary involvement on the basis of their job, since they are members of certain professional organizations, often with a focus on advancing the needs of professionals with a Turkish or other ethnic minority background in Germany.

Combining the participants' educational and professional status, plus their extensive social involvement, they can be regarded as a potentially influential sub-group of Turkish-Germans. They do – whether consciously or not - work towards some kind of

advancement of other (Turkish) migrants. These Turkish-Germans are not necessarily the elite, but a very important 'middling' group (Smith & Favell 2006). What Smith and Favell (2006, 2) write about intra-European migrants is transferable to the Turkish-Germans in my sample: "the skilled and educated among the globally mobile also include: students, nurses, mid-level technical and clerical employees, ambitious or adventurous upwardly mobile middle-classes, migrants from a range of intermediate developing states, and many more it would be hard to describe as "elites"" (2006, 2). We can think of them as pioneers, as trailblazers, who – as we will see – although identifying in multiple ways want to contribute to advance the situation of people with a Turkish family background.

Stages in the life cycle

As I set out to interview Turkish-Germans who are employed, the age-range of the participants reflects the typical age-range of (self-) employed persons. Kamer with his 29 years is the youngest participant. Even he, however, has been working for six years already, is married and has one son. Most participants are between 35-50 years old. Except for two, they were all in a committed relationship, mostly married. Among the group of stayers as well as movers, there are participants who do not have children. These are mostly the ones in their early or mid-thirties. In both groups as well are those with adult children who by now live in their own apartments in or outside Berlin. Although there are differences in family status among the participants, they are not inherent to one group only, but exist within the two groups. Thus, differences between movers and stayers that arise in the issues discussed in the next chapters cannot 'simply' be attributed to differences in personal characteristics. To rather bluntly illustrate, not all movers, for example, have children, and not all stayers are young people who value inner-city life. The presence of young children in the household influences neighborhood use, but this difference exists within the group of stayers as well as within the group movers.

The following table gives an overview of the just described characteristics, including also the neighborhoods the participants live in, which will be described in the following paragraphs.

Table 3: Selected characteristics of the participants

Name (gender)	Neighborhood	Job (Self- employment = SE)	Age & Family status	Lives in apartment with
STAYERS				
Umut (m)	Moabit	Real estate- and financial consultant	43 y., divorced, 2 children	Mother
Sati (f)	Wedding	Community Management	39 y., divorced, in partnership	Mother
Nevcan (f)	Wedding	Beauty parlor (se)	40 y., single, 1 child	Child
Nursel (f)	Schöneberg-North	Studying law Assembly women for district	33 y., single	Mother
Devran (m)	Neukölln	Social worker	30 y., in partnership	Partner
Baysan (m)	Neukölln	Community Manager	36y., in partnership	Partner
Isin (m)	Schöneberg-North	Boxing coach (se), former electrician	48y., married, 2 children	Wife, 2 children
Ozanay (m)	Kreuzberg-North	Owner of kiosk, post office (se)	42y., married, 2 children	Wife, 2 children
Sibel (f)	Wedding	Owner of beauty clinic (se)	49y., married, 3 children	Husband, parents
Atalay (m)	Kreuzberg-North	Print, computer (se)	52 y., divorced, in partnership, 1 child	Partner
Aydin (m)	Kreuzberg-North	Photographer	39 y., divorced, in partnership	Alone
Nasir (m)	Wedding	Chief of restaurant	31 years, married, 1 child	Wife, child
Hatira (f)	Kreuzberg-North	Domestic economy support, leave for children	38 y., married, 2 children	Husband, 2 children
Ceyda (f)	Neukölln	Owner of café (se)	42 y., single, divorced, 1 child	Child
Mehri (m)	Kreuzberg-North	Galvanizer, football coach	36 y., in partnership	Partner, her two children
Erol (m)	Kreuzberg-North	Graphic designer (se)	32y., in partnership	Partner
Tekay (f)	Border Kreuzberg-North / Neukoelln	Lawyer (se)	45y., divorced, in partnership, 1 child	Alone
Kamer (m)	Kreuzberg-North	Insurance Consultant	29y., married, 1 child	Wife, child

MOVERS				
Ozeant (f)	Neukölln (Kreuzberg-South) Tempelhof	Journalist	33 y., single	Alone
Varol (m)	Wedding Reinickendorf	Lawyer (se)	42 y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Lacin (m)	Wedding (Tempelhof) Kreuzberg-South	Mid-level position at Daimler	34y., in partnership	Alone
Bedia (f)	Wedding (Kreuzberg-South) Charlottenburg	Community manager / social worker	33 y., in partnership	Partner, his grandmother
Basari (m)	Moabit / Wedding Pankow	Insurance consultant (se)	39 y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Alkalin (m)	Neukölln Wilmerdorf	Lawyer (se)	37 y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Enginalp (m)	Neukölln Frohnau	Lawyer (se)	49 y., married, 1 child	Wife, child
Selami (m)	Tiergarten/Moabit Kreuzberg	Real Estate Holding (se)	47y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Selbi (f)	Spandau, Schöneberg-South	Part-time university lecturer (communication)	31 y., single	Alone
Behcet (m)	Wedding Wilmerdorf	Lawyer (se)	40 y., married, 3 kids	Wife, three children
Erdim (m)	Kreuzberg-North Steglitz Mariendorf	Gastronomy businesses (se)	44 years, divorced, re-married, 3 children	Wife, two children
Özcan (m)	Wedding Lankwitz	Tax Consultant (se)	49 y., married, 3 children	Wife, three children
Yurday (m)	Schöneberg-North Steglitz	Owner of a Turkish Theater (se)	59y., married, 2 children	Wife
Ferda (f)	Kreuzberg Teltow	Social / community worker	39y., married, 3 children	Husband, three children
Sercan (m)	Neukölln Grunewald	Food business	45y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Selim (m)	Kreuzberg-North Wilmerdorf	Owner of café (se)	34 y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Mithat (m)	Neukölln Tempelhof Groß-Zieten	Owner of driving school (se)	49 y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Cevat (m)	Wedding Wilmerdorf	Coach for business start ups (se)	41y., in partnership	Partner
Dalim (m)	Reinickendorf	Owner of broker	45y., married, 2	Wife, two

	Wilmerisdorf	agency for bi-cultural media hosts (se)	children	children
Alper (m)	Neukölln Tempelhof	Textile business (se)	37y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children
Nizami (m)	Wedding, Moabit, Reinickendorf, Charlottenburg	Gastronomy business (se)	48y., married, 2 children	Wife
Nedim (m)	Kreuzberg-North Tempelhof	Financial Consultant (se)	52 y., divorced, in partnership, 1 child	Partner
Mahir (m)	Neukoelln Gross-Zieten	Insurance Consultant	46y., married, 2 children	Wife, two children

3.2. Characterization of the neighborhoods

In line with the different educational and professional paths, there is likewise no singular or typical housing and neighborhood trajectory. Moving is actually a norm, as it is for most people in today's mobile societies (Smith & Favell 2006; Urry 2007). The important question for where people live and have lived is whether or not a change in the social status of the neighborhood has taken place at one point.

Many of the stayers have moved, but within the wider district they grew up in. Some had brief phases in a socioeconomically advantaged neighborhood but then decided to move back to the neighborhood they had spent many years of their lives in, among other reasons because they felt more comfortable there (cf. chapter five). Movers, on the other hand, did not simply move from one specific disadvantaged neighborhood to one specific advantaged one. They often moved several times before they finally settled in a neighborhood for a longer time. Behcet who has been born in Berlin, and has lived with his parents in Neukölln and Kreuzberg, calls his residential trajectory an '*odyssey*'. Some of the participants had – mostly due to the studies or the job – also some periods in their lives where they lived in other German cities, or even other countries. Selami for example once tried to set up a business in Turkey, but failed and subsequently returned to Berlin. Nevcan, who has spent most of her life in Wedding, has lived in Switzerland for 1,5 years, but likewise returned to Berlin.

So where and in what kinds of neighborhood do the participants live in Berlin? In general, the stayers live in central-city neighborhoods in the districts of Wedding, Neukölln, Moabit, Kreuzberg-North and Schöneberg-North. Movers, who have lived in the same areas as the stayers still live in, have moved out, to various neighborhoods in the Western part of the city, such as in Charlottenburg, Wilmersdorf, Steglitz, or the Southern parts of Kreuzberg and Schöneberg. As described previously, the Turkish-Germans show some residential patterns that fit in the picture of intra-urban movement for Turkish migrants (and nationals). It was shown that in general, Mitte, Neukölln and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg are losing Turkish population, whereas Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf and Steglitz-Zehlendorf are slightly gaining. The absolute numbers are very low, but might be higher when also including people with a Turkish family background, who have the German citizenship, as most of the participants in this study.

The example of Kreuzberg illustrates the importance of using the concept of neighborhood at a smaller scale. The current official districts, particularly after the merging of districts in 2001, are very large, and conceal important intra-district differences. The smallest scale that data is available for in Berlin is that of the 'Spaces oriented on the lived environment' (*Lebensweltlich orientierte Räume, LOR*). These officially designated spaces come closer to the colloquially used concept of '*Kiez*'. In Berlin, it is common to use the term '*Kiez*' to refer to the immediate environment surrounding one's place of residence. Since the term is commonly used and understood, this is also what I used in the interview.

The following table illustrates the difference between two LORs in the same district, one in the socioeconomically weaker Kreuzberg-North, and the other one in the more advantaged, heavily gentrified Kreuzberg-South⁶.

⁶ For reasons of anonymity, I decided not to reveal the respective LORs, but stick with the district names as used before the district-reform. For Kreuzberg and Schöneberg, there is the additional differentiation between South and North, whereas for both, the Northern part is the socioeconomically weaker part.

Table 4: Status indices for two LORs in Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain, 2011⁷

	Share of un- employed	Share of un- employed un- der 25 y.	Share of wel- fare receivers	Share of welfare receivers younger than 15y.	Share of migrants, younger than 18
Kreuzberg- North	17,4 %	10,3 %	38,2 %	80,1 %	87,5 %
Kreuzberg- South	8,5 %	4,8 %	13,2 %	32,2 %	53,5 %

In line with the general intra-urban movement of Turkish migrants is that neighborhoods in the Eastern part of Berlin are hardly considered as a potential place to move to. This is a historic effect – the guest workers came to West Berlin when the city was still divided, so naturally the focus was on that part of the city. Even today, the participants hold a rather negative attitude towards the Eastern part. One reason is presumed prejudice by East-Berliners towards (Turkish) migrants. Erol remembers how in his teenage years, a fear was created about East-Berlin, for which the district of Marzahn was the symbol:

„Never go to Marzahn, you get beaten up there” and stuff like that. Turks always had to avoid Marzahn. That became a legend. And when we were driving around with the car and we saw we had to pass through Marzahn, we obviously had to turn around. (...) We really did avoid this district. Anything that came behind it, Brandenburg and so on. When we drove through Brandenburg, we did that without stopping. But those were all scare tactics.

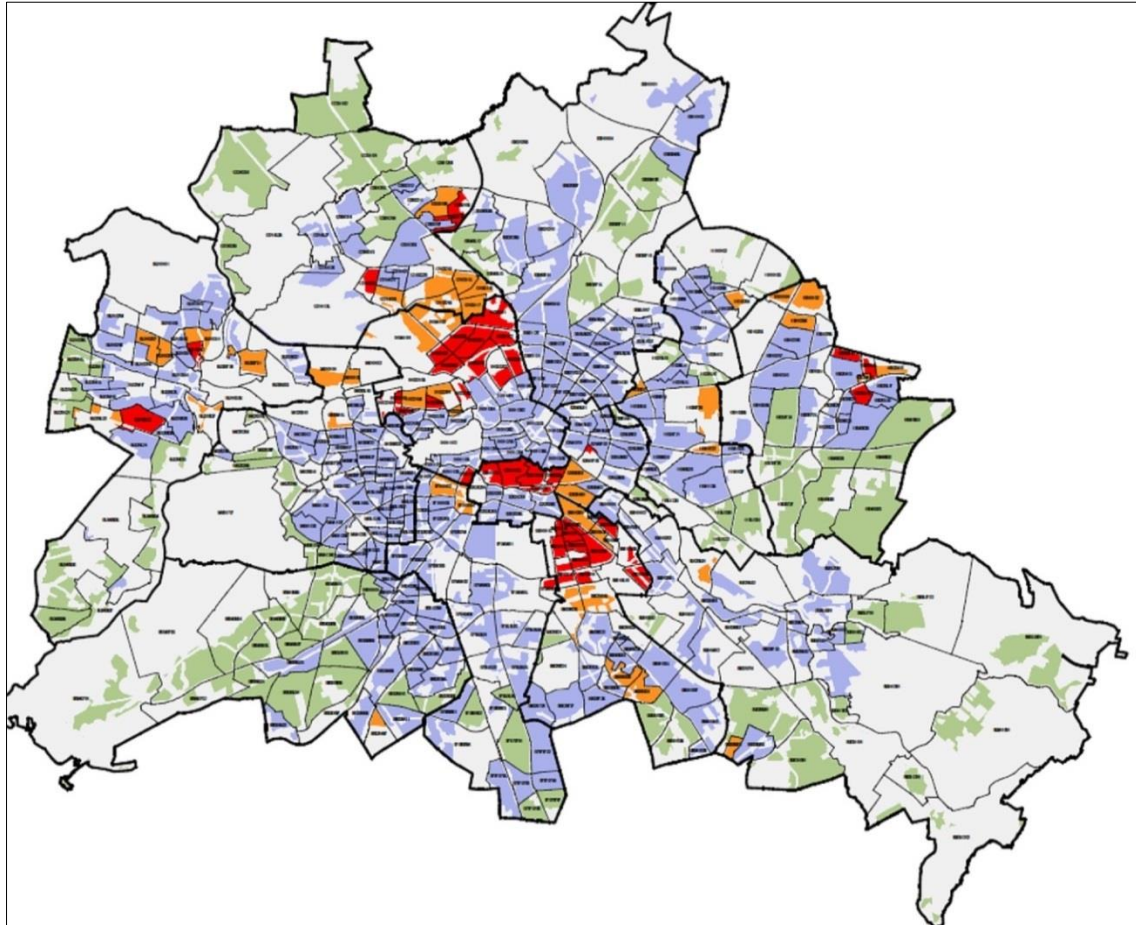
Mainly due to the wall and the physical separation between East and West, this boundary still continues to exist, and is reflected in the previous map.

The following map gives an overview of the development of neighborhoods' socioeconomic status. This is a more dynamic index than for example the number of welfare receivers at one point in time. The 'development index' combines the status as well as the dynamic-index. Indicators of a neighborhood's status are the share of unemployed (in total and for those younger than 25), long-term unemployed, not-unemployed receivers of existence-securing measures (in total and for those younger

⁷ Monitoring Soziale Stadtentwicklung 2011

than 25), and people with migration background younger than 18. The dynamic indicators include different measures of in- and out-movement, and differences in the share of German / foreign receivers of welfare.

Map 2: Development index, LORs (2011)⁸



Red: very low; Orange: low; Blue: medium; Green: high / very high

The stayers live in areas that are mostly categorized as having either a very low or a low development index. Many of the neighborhoods are part of the Federal Program 'Social City' (*Soziale Stadt*), which has been introduced in cooperation with the German *Länder* and municipalities in 1999, in order to support the "upgrading of urban development and strengthening of social cohesion in disadvantaged city neighborhoods. (...) It connects investments in the physical structure for urban renewal

⁸http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/basisdaten_stadtentwicklung/monitoring/de/2011/karten.shtml

with means to improve the conditions of living in the neighborhood”⁹. In Berlin, the larger areas of Wedding-Moabit, Kreuzberg-North, and Neukölln-North are targeted as ‘action spaces plus’ (*Aktionsräume plus*), and those are also the areas where, on a still smaller spatial scale of mostly a few blocks / streets, community management (*Quartiersmanagement*) has been installed. So even from the official side, the weak population structure, plus infrastructural shortcomings, in the larger areas were recognized and became a reason for intervention.

The movers, in contrast, live in socioeconomically more advantaged areas. They succeeded in moving from neighborhoods with a low development index to ones with a medium one. They still do not live in the ‘best’ neighborhoods – those with a (very) high development index – but there is certainly a ‘move out and move up’.

3.3. Practical neighborhood use

*“Upon moving to your new Kiez, you should immediately construct a “Zone of Possibilities”. Generally speaking, a 1km circle surrounding your Wohnung (!) should suffice. (...) This zone dictates where you’ll go and who’ll you’ll be willing to befriend. When you meet someone, you should first enquire as to where they live. If you learn it’s outside your personal Zone of Possibilities, just immediately end the conversation. Pack up your things, pay for your drink, stand up, then walk off. (...) There’s no point beginning a relationship that will be so obviously hindered by unrealistic geography.”*¹⁰

This quote from British Adam Fletcher, owner of the blog ‘The Hipstery’, who has moved to Berlin in 2010, certainly has a grain of truth in it. It points to the importance of ‘Kiez’ in the Berlin residents’ language and daily life. The ‘Kiez’ plays a role for practical reasons as well as symbolic identification. In the following, I will briefly describe the neighborhoods¹¹ based on their infrastructure, such as the availability of cafes, restaurants, green spaces, etc., which influences the Turkish-Germans’ practical neighborhood use. We thereby also learn what kind of infrastructure they consider important in daily life.

⁹ http://www.staedtebauforderung.info/StBauF/DE/SozialeStadt/soziale__stadt__node.html (own translation); for an overview of the program areas and the evaluation of the first phase of the program in Berlin, see empirica (2003)

¹⁰ <http://venturevillage.eu/the-moderately-indifferent-persons-guide-to-berlin>

¹¹ As in the interviews, I will use the words ‘Kiez’ and neighborhood interchangeably.

The facility that is used mostly within the neighborhood is *supermarkets*. This is not surprising, for reasons of practicability. One exception to that are the Turkish supermarkets / green grocers. The Turkish-Germans enjoy and appreciate buying in shops owned by other Turkish migrants. This has, first of all, very practical reasons. In Turkish grocery stores, food is sold in high quantities, not in small cans or packages as usually found in German supermarkets. Moreover, the supply is specialized to the Turkish cuisine and prices are perceived to be cheaper. Enginalp likes to go to the Turkish supermarket in order to find good olives, certain kinds of spices, or some special meat. Erdim likewise mentions the supply as the reason to go to the Turkish green grocer, where he finds, for example, Turkish Sucuk. A further advantage are the opening times of the Turkish stores, which are more extensive than those of most supermarkets, so shopping there is more convenient for the employed population.

Turkish green grocers are mostly found in inner-city areas with a high share of ethnic minorities. In their daily rounds, it is easy for the stayers to stop at a Turkish supermarket. The movers rarely find Turkish infrastructure in their neighborhoods. This is perceived as a negative characteristic. Enginalp says that he misses going to the Turkish bakery, and Varol accepts having to travel farther, to another neighborhood, in order to shop at the Turkish green grocer.

Buying in the ethnic economy, however, is often about more than mere practical reasons. Baysan for example is very fond of the '*Turkish-Arab infrastructure*' in Neukölln, pointing out particularly that these Turkish supermarkets, cafes, or bakeries are places where you do more than just grocery shopping. As the other Turkish-Germans, he points out that these are places where you spend a little bit more time, to do some small talk with the owners. He thus calls shopping in these places a particular form of '*exchange*' or a '*kind of special service*' – referring to the sociable moments that come along with shopping there.

Next to the Turkish infrastructure, neighborhoods are rated highly if they provide places to meet people, to hang out in *free-time*, such as cafes and bars. Asking what people do in their free-time, or what they liked or disliked about the neighborhood, the

availability of 'cafes' came up many times. For free-time activities such as going to the movies or the theater, visiting art exhibitions, trying out new restaurants, or doing sports, spatial proximity is not the highest priority. The public transportation system in Berlin is, according to the participants, well developed, so that getting to other neighborhoods did not emerge as a problem or a deterrent to spending free-time activities in other areas.

For cafes, however, the availability within the neighborhood of residence is very important. Meeting people in cafes – arranged as well as by chance – is one of the main activities the Turkish-Germans engage in when they are not working. This might be partly a survival of the 'café culture' that developed in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. The cafes, often integrated to mosques, were mostly reserved for males. Even today, the 'typical' Turkish cafes, including those that exist outside Turkey, often draw mainly the male population. Researching Turkish cafes in Duisburg, Ceylan (2006, 184) shows that for the Turkish migrants visiting these places, they are the "next to the own apartment, the most important whereabouts". This high importance of cafes can also be stated for the Turkish-Germans in Berlin. However, the participants rarely go to these more traditional Turkish cafes. If they go to Turkish cafes, these are mostly bakeries, and not the more secluded spaces that are only open to males. Mostly, they like to spend time in cafes that are frequented by many different people from within and outside the neighborhood.

More than half of the participants (24) go to a café every day or several times a week, and another seven at least once a week. The difference in availability of (nice) cafes in the participants' neighborhoods is reflected in the respective locations where they frequent cafes. Of the 18 stayers who go to cafes, 14 use them in their own Kiez. In contrast, only eight of the 22 movers who frequently visit cafes, do that in the same neighborhood.

Not always is the sheer availability crucial, but rather the café's atmosphere. Selim, himself a café-owner in Kreuzberg-South, finds that there is a clear difference between cafes in Kreuzberg, which is where he grew up, and the place in Wilmersdorf where he is living now. There are cafes, but:

S: (...) in Wilmersdorf, the relaxing is missing, which I am used to as a Kreuzberger. (...)

I: But in general, there are cafes, bars?

S: Yes, they exist, but I find that they don't do it like here in Kreuzberg or Mitte or... They have... Well I think they could be nicer.

Atalay, one of the stayers, points out the big plus of his place of residence in Kreuzberg-North, namely that he simply has to go outside and immediately finds plenty of cafes, 'to the left, to the right, back there'. Not all stayers, though, find cafes in their neighborhoods. In areas such as Neukölln and Kreuzberg-North, where tendencies of neighborhood upgrading are visible, there are clearly more cafes than in Wedding or Moabit. Nevcan, long-term resident of Wedding, whose daily life is largely focused on her Kiez, finds that one of the few disadvantages is that there are no cafes around. Sibel, likewise living in Wedding, welcomes the opening of a new café which sells organic products.

Most stayers live in rather lively areas, which provide many cafes, but also shopping streets, or many places to eat. Among the movers, there are basically two groups – a differentiation that will become important again for symbolic neighborhood use (chapter eight). The movers who live in more residential areas, highlight their neighborhood's quietness and green spaces. They describe the neighborhoods referring to the peacefulness and possibility to relax there, but also – if young children are in the household – as a good place to raise children. Enginalp, living in Frohnau, stresses that he likes 'the built environment, the nature'. He also points out that it is a great area to see his child grow up in. The son can be outside, can go to school without his father being afraid that something might happen – as he would have been in his old Neukölln neighborhood. Ferda, who lives in an area at the outskirts of Berlin, likewise stresses the value of the neighborhood for her three children. She and her family live in a detached house with garden in a very quiet neighborhood:

That's of course great for the kids. They came home today, and just stayed outside, playing. I'm not a very active mom, I don't have to be outside in all weathers. But if they want, they always have the possibility to go outside. If I lived in an apartment, it would be dependent on me, they could only go outside when I go.

Ferda thus knows that her neighborhood has great value for raising children. In an apartment in the central city, her children would not be able to simply go out alone and play outside.

Cevat describes his neighborhood as ‘*old widow area*’, which is much quieter than the Kiez in Wedding he has lived in before. However, he values that a lot, since his professional life as a coach for entrepreneurs is rather stressful and he is happy when he comes home and has it quiet. Sercan, who is self-employed in the food-business and has to drive around a lot in Berlin and Brandenburg, also refers to his stressful job life that makes him very fond of his neighborhood as a place for relaxation:

Quiet. Quiet. I am around a lot due to my work. When I am in Wedding, main street, I hear the sirens every other minute, mee-mar, the same in Neukölln. But it's very quiet where I live. You don't hear anything. You don't see police, no sirens at all, because simply nothing happens.

The huge advantage of these neighborhoods is that nothing happens. Life is predictable. All in all, the more residential neighborhoods some movers end up in are quiet, they are good places for relaxation from a stressful job life, and they are also good places to raise children. Although people like Sercan and Ferda have to go outside the neighborhood if they want to meet people in cafes, or for cultural activities, the very practical use of the neighborhood as a place somewhat removed from the otherwise more stressful ‘urban’ life, is highly valued.

In summary, this chapter has shown the diverse trajectories of the upwardly mobile Turkish-German participants. Many of them struggled in school, and took detours on their way to a good educational degree and the occupations they are working in now. Despite the difficulties, they all experienced upward social mobility and have a high socioeconomic status that many of their family, kin and friends.

These particular trajectories and experiences made on the way had an influence on the participant's self-identification. This chapter has already pointed to experiences of discrimination that the Turkish-Germans made as young children. Both the own identification as well as categorization by others are the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter four: Self-identification and social categorization along ethnicity and class

For a better understanding of the following chapters, we have to analyze the Turkish-Germans' self-identification. Knowing more about self-identification along ethnic background and class and how it often contradicts categorizations through majority society helps to understand and explain the patterns in the participants' organization of social life in the city and in different neighborhoods.

In the following I will introduce some theories of identification, focusing particularly on the relational nature of identification processes. Next, I will describe how the participants self-identify along ethnic background and class. Self-identification is similar for movers and stayers and will be discussed together. Differences that emerge in relation to social categorizations, reflected for example in the places and neighborhoods where people feel recognized with their specific identifications, will be the subject of chapter eight.

4.1. Theories of identification

Relying mainly on the accounts of Barth, Jenkins, and de Swaan, I see 'identity' as procedural and relational (cf. Blokland 2003b). This is reflected in the term 'identification', rather than the more static term 'identity'. Social identification, the "process in which people come to feel that some other human beings are much 'the same' as they are and still others are more 'unlike' them" (de Swaan 1995, 25; see also de Swaan 1997) includes identification based on different characteristics, such as ethnic or class background, gender, or lifestyle. In the process of group formation, people identify with others who they perceive as similar, and supposedly different people are excluded.

Throughout the last couple of hundred years, the 'circle of identification' – the number of people or groups we can possibly identify with – has widened enormously, and is not anymore focused mainly on kinship or neighbors. A consequence is that identifications change more often: "social identifications, no matter how intensely held, are essentially multiple and unstable. For most individuals they encompass the family and

the village, the peer group and the neighbourhood, the larger entities of class or nation, with all the contradictions these multiple identifications imply" (de Swaan 1995, 34). A person's identity is never fixed, but set up in relation to other people, and the reference groups can change – depending on time or context. As Tilly (2005, 8) argues: "strictly speaking, every individual, group, or social site has as many identities as it has relations with other individuals, groups, or social sites".

Jenkins (2008) points to this relationality by stressing the interplay between a person's own self- or group identification, and social categorization through others. Categorizing others is the basis for internal definition, meaning that one's own groups has to identify in contrast to some 'other'. At the same time, a strong internal definition can function as "a defence against (.) categorization by outsiders" (Jenkins 2008, 141). This has been analyzed (with mixed results) for ethnic minority groups, asking for example whether strong ethnic identification works as a shield against discrimination and thus leads to better health outcomes (cf. Mossakowski 2003).

Due to social categorization, it is possible that a person wants to belong to a certain group, but is denied access to the group and thus cannot identify with it. If such categorizations occur regularly, they may become internalized. "Categorization is *consequential*, and it is in those consequences that it may be effective" (Jenkins 2008, 21, italics in original). Even unintentional categorization can have real effects, since "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas & Thomas 1928). If a person feels categorized, whether intended or not, she will act accordingly and for example avoid interactions with the categorizing person or group.

In research on ethnic or racial identification, scholars also point to the "extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social experiences and cultural identities", and claim that any racial or ethnic category is "a politically and culturally *constructed* category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed transcultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in Nature" (Hall 1992, 255, italics in original). There is thus no a-priori, singular, definitive ethnic group that people immediately identify with, or feel belonging to. Brubaker (2002) thus insisted that we

have to abandon the idea that there is an ethnic *group*, but ask under what circumstances people make reference to ethnic group. He clarifies that “Ethnic common sense (...) is a key part of what we want to explain, not what we want to explain things *with*” (ibid., 165, italics in original), and so is the emergence or invoking of “*groupness*” (ibid. 167). Questions to answer are why, how, and in what contexts people invoke categories of ethnicity. Particularly neighborhood studies have shown that variables such as insider – outsider (regarding length of residence), or shared moral values may be more important for processes of identification and boundary drawing than ethnicity (Elias & Scotson 1994; Wimmer 2013, ch. 5).

Whether or not, and how strongly, ethnic or other categories are used for identification, can be captured by the concept of social closure. Wimmer (2013) points out that social closure, initially introduced by Weber, is helpful in studying ethnic identification and groupness. Thereby, “high degrees of closure imply that a boundary cannot be easily crossed and that it is consequential for everyday life because it denies access to the resources that have been monopolized by the dominant group” (ibid., 84). This quote implies the centrality of power in studying processes of identification, or boundary drawing on the basis of ethnic background. If people in dominant, powerful groups are socially closed and have boundaries that are not easy to cross, they may not only influence identification processes, but it will have consequences on access to resources of less powerful groups, which again has an effect on inequality (cf. Tilly 1998).

Although the accounts of Jenkins and Brubaker address the relationality of identification processes and that categories are constructed, they do not focus on how different identifications can influence each other. However, combining identification on ethnic and class background may reveal particular patterns. Skin color, for example, is often used as a proxy for a person’s social status, and being black in the U.S., or Arab or Turkish in Germany can be taken as a sign for belonging to a lower social class. This assumption can lead to different assessments of commonly used class identifiers, such as language skills or the display of certain status symbols, which are in most cases a

sign of a person's economic class (Weber 1978). Two people may thus consume the same status symbols, but these can be interpreted differently, depending on the person's ethnicity.

Intersectionality theory has tried to address this shortcoming. Originating in feminist studies, pointing particularly to processes of oppression, intersectionality claims that people are differentially disadvantaged and discriminated, depending on the intersection of race, class and gender (Crenshaw 1991; McCall 2005). The theory draws attention to "how dominant conceptions of discrimination condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occurring along a single categorical axis" (Crenshaw 1989, 140), as for example ethnic background. The different layers of disadvantage, and their accumulation and interplay affect people's experiences and life chances.

Although the concept developed to describe experiences of disadvantage, discrimination, and oppression, it can also be used in a more neutral way. Ethnic identification is still too often assessed on this one dimension alone. Looking at the intersection with class and gender may reveal more complex processes. These dimensions, moreover, differ because ethnic background and gender are ascribed characteristics that cannot be changed, whereas class is an acquired status. As Barth (1998, 27) points out: "most systems of stratification allow (...) mobility based on evaluation by the scales that define the hierarchy. Thus a moderate failure in the 'B' sector of the hierarchy makes you a 'C', etc. Ethnic groups are not open to this kind of penetration: the ascription of ethnic identity is based on other and more restrictive criteria". For class, mobility is possible, but it is not for ethnic background or gender.

Honneth describes social categorizations and its consequences referring to (denied) recognition. According to Honneth, people are in a constant fight for recognition from others. Human beings are dependent on this recognition: "in order to develop a successful relation with the self, he [human being] is dependent on the inter-subjective recognition of his abilities and achievements; if this form of social acceptance is missing, there will be a mental hole ripped in the personality, which will be covered by

feelings such as shame or anger” (Honneth 1994, 220, own translation¹²). Within three spheres of recognition – the sphere of (intimate) primary relations, the legal sphere, and the sphere of achievements (Honneth 1994; see also Koefoed & Simonsen 2012) - recognition is not accessible to all people alike, but may be refused to certain categories of people. In the sphere of achievements “recognition renders participants able to understand themselves as subjects whose abilities and ways of life are valuable for the common ethical goals of the community” (Koefoed & Simonsen 2012, 627). Such a community can be based on culture, work, or political involvement (ibid.). Denying recognition in this sphere means, for example, that the same contributions of two people may be assessed differently, because they do not belong to the same community, whereby dis-recognition can “occur along a continuum from being avoided to extreme stigmatization” (ibid.).

Not being recognized has an effect on a person again because recognition, as identification, occurs in and through the interactions between people: “since the normative image of the self is dependent on the possibility of a continuous reassurance in the other person, the experience of disregard is accompanied by the danger of insult, which can lead the person’s whole identity to collapse” (Honneth 1994, 213, own translation¹³).

Looking at the intersection of ethnic background and class, this study contributes to a better understanding of identification processes. First, I am asking Turkish-Germans, who have spent most if not all their lives in Germany about ethnic identification. Besides, class plays a role as well since the participants are upwardly mobile. Regarding education, income, and/or values (for these dimensions cf. Pattillo-McCoy 2000) the participants can be counted as members of the middle classes, some rather lower middle class, some upper, but all of them first-generation middle class. These upwardly

¹² „um zu einer geglückten Selbstbeziehung zu gelangen, ist er (der Mensch) auf die intersubjektive Anerkennung seiner Fähigkeiten und Leistungen angewiesen; bleibt eine solche Form der sozialen Zustimmung aus, so reißt das in seiner Persönlichkeit gleichsam eine psychische Lücke auf, in die negative Gefühlsreaktionen wie der Scham oder die Wut treten”

¹³ “weil das normative Selbstbild eines jeden Menschen (...) auf die Möglichkeit der steten Rückversicherung im Anderen angewiesen ist, geht mit der Erfahrung von Mißachtung (!) die Gefahr einer Verletzung einher, die die Identität der ganzen Person zum Einsturz bringen kann”

mobile Turkish-Germans are theoretically confronted with the blurring of two categories: ethnically between Germans and Turks, socially between the lower and the middle class. Even in the accounts that critically deal with ethnic identification, as described above, there is hardly a mentioning of the intersection of ethnic identification with other identifications a person may have. This is why I draw on intersectionality to point out the multidimensionality of experiences, and to the fact that people do not only identify along one category, but that there are different layers of categories that form and influence experiences and identification processes. Identification is not *only* about ethnic belonging, or *only* about class, but about the interplay of these different categories. In contrast to intersectionality, again, the focus here is not only on a matrix of oppression. I use intersectionality to analyze how the particular intersection of ethnicity and class works in different contexts, still paying attention to the matrix of oppression, but also to whether and how the intersection may lead to new possibilities for identification.

Although gender is an influential category of inequality, but also identification, it does not come up much in this study. First of all, I did not inquire about experiences based on gender during the interview. Moreover, discrimination of Turkish women is often discussed in relation to religious practices, such as wearing a headscarf. An as of yet unpublished study in Germany, for example, has shown that women with a headscarf are discriminated in the job search (Schnur 2013). Except for Selbi, the participating women did not adhere to this religious practice. If they are stigmatized, it is mostly because of their Turkishness, not because of a visible religious otherness. The example of Selbi, as we will see, suggests that there are indeed diverse experiences of (Turkish) women, based on whether or not they wear a visible religious symbol as the headscarf.

In the following part, I will first of all describe the Turkish-Germans' internal definitions. In a second step, social categorization is analyzed as the Turkish-Germans experience it in their daily lives. The question in this part is how identification processes work along the line of ethnic background and social class, two dimensions central to boundary drawing processes Lamont and Molnár (2002).

4.2. Assessing ‘identification’ in practice – a note on the method

What the theoretical accounts miss out on is proposing a way of assessing questions of identification in practice, such as in qualitative interviewing that does not rely on prefabricated categories, as is typical for quantitative research which often uses ethnic background as an explanatory variable. For census data, for example, people are expected to choose one category, and there is no possibility for ‘fuzzy’ identifications. In interviews, being of the opinion that no groupness can be assumed a priori is one thing. The harder one is to convey this to an ethnic minority group that is often expected to have clear preferences for the Turkish or German ethnic group (see below). Talking about issues around identity is a very sensitive issue. In a way, this is reflected in my having used different terms during the interviews, such as identity, culture, or mentality, depending on the situation, and the respective person’s reactions to these concepts. In the present work, it was important to understand how certain characteristics, attitudes or behaviors are framed (Small et al. 2010). Whether identity, culture or mentality was used to do that, was a secondary issue. In general, mentality, according to the Oxford Dictionary “the characteristic attitude of mind or way of thinking of a person [or] social group” was the most accepted, least controversial, term for the Turkish-Germans.

Just as ‘identity’, ‘culture’ is a similar sensitive term and issue. The concept and meaning of ‘culture’ itself is highly contested. Following Tilly (2005, 96), I will not go into the debate on what exactly culture ‘is’, but define it “as shared understandings and their representations in language, objects, and practices”. Hall (1990, 225) combines the two terms and speaks of cultural identities, which “come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power”. With that definition, Hall points to the importance of historical narratives and experiences. He focuses on African Caribbeans, but it is helpful to use it for other ethnic minority groups as well, because it leads to a better understanding of e.g. the migration experience. In the German context, influential historical narratives in this sense are the selection processes of the Turkish

guest workers and hence the stories of most participants' parents. Or the long process of the German state to finally recognize that these Turkish migrants were not only 'guests' waiting to return to Turkey, but full residents and members of society.

Although I used different expressions in the interviews, I here use culture. The advantage with that term, even though it is a contested one (see above), over mentality is that it refers to actual practices, not just mental states. Identification(s) based on culture result in actual practices, as will become clear in the chapters on social capital, networks, and place identification.

4.3. Self-identification at the intersection of ethnicity and class

4.3.1. Ethnic identification

Striking about the Turkish-Germans' ethnic self-identification is that they avoid clear boundaries or forms of *groupness*. In contrast, the participants claim that they are bi-cultural, or cosmopolitan, having developed a new 'identity', a new culture. They are proud of managing a symbiosis of two different cultures, of having a hybrid identity. The following three examples underline this hybridity:

I'm German, I'm Turkish, I'm not feeling at odds. (...) My fatherland is Germany, my motherland is Turkey. In Turkey you say motherland, in Germany fatherland. I feel that I belong to both. (Lacin, mover)

Of course, the Turkish identity is important to me. But it is not constitutive, I grew up like that. You just have it. My grandparents live there. My family, many of my friends live there. I love that country. But it's like the German's affinity for America, as it used to be, when everybody had a U.S. flag on the wall. (Enginalp, mover)

I think I'm typical Turkish. Yes. Or not? Yes. Or no. Both. (Ceyda, stayer)

These examples illustrate how the participants feel belonging to the German and Turkish ethnic group. Ceyda's quote hints at the constant maneuvering that is involved in the identification process. Enginalp, in contrast, says that an adherence to the Turkish background is more or less natural, and it does not consciously influence his everyday life.

Nearly a century ago, Park (1928) already talked about cultural hybrids and the opportunities inherent in being a 'marginal man'. He saw migration as a form of emancipation, freeing the migrant from societal expectations, and giving him the chance to develop new forms of identity. This process, however, includes opportunities, but also conflict: "there appeared a new type of personality, namely, a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place" (ibid., 892).

Gans also described a form of emancipation. Focusing on third generation European immigrants in the U.S., he showed how they freed themselves from expectations on how e.g. an Italian migrant should be and behave like, according to majority society's as well as more traditional migrants' ideas. The third generation succeeded in having a "choice about when and how to play ethnic roles" (Gans 1979, 202), and how and when to display their ethnic minority background.

A difference to Gans' *white* European immigrants is that the Turkish-Germans are phenotypically different to native-Germans, which may inhibit the choice when to play the ethnic role. Dalim points to the problem of racial prejudice. Stressing bi-cultural identity is also a reluctance to let him be put in a box by others:

For a while, I did have this feeling, so as a Turk you have to do this and that. Why, it doesn't matter, so there will be Turk 2.0. That exists. There is some type of Turk here, they really succeeded in making a synthesis of both [cultures], and not having to make this decision, are you more Turkish or more German? And I'm simply not making this decision anymore. But as a Turk you will always be confronted with this question, but I won't answer it anymore. Because there is just no way you can answer it.

Dalim feels that *as* a Turkish migrant, native-Germans think that an ethnic minority person has to display clear groupness. This is an instance of the 'double-consciousness' introduced before. Dalim is able to see himself as an ethnic minority member through the eyes of majority society, and thus knows what is expected of him. The pressure to define oneself is put on migrants, which points to a common experience of hybrid identities: „People with hybrid identities are German citizens, but often with names,

faces, colors of skin and hair that make them recognizable to others; in most cases they additionally have different worlds of experience” (Foroutan & Schäfer 2009, 12, own translation). The Turkish-Germans stand out because of their phenotypical features. Moreover, as Dalim pointed out, they may share experiences that native-Germans or other (white) migrant groups do not have. These experiences influence the way they perceive the world and interpret and react to certain events. As we will see in the following chapters, Turkish-Germans may use certain cultural frames to make sense of experiences they made *as* a person with a Turkish family background: “individuals perceive the same events differently based on their prior experiences and understandings. They encode expectations about consequences of behavior and the relationships between various aspects of our social worlds” (Small et al. 2010, 14f.; cf. also Fuhse 2012).

The avoidance of groupness, the stress of hybrid identities, can be interpreted as a strategy of boundary blurring (Wimmer 2008). Although Wimmer claims that boundary blurring contains “emphasizing other, non-ethnic bonds of belonging” (ibid., 1037), the Turkish-Germans’ refusal to identify as either Turkish or German equally works towards reducing “the importance of ethnicity as a principle of categorization and social organization” (ibid., 1041).

Refusing to display clear groupness, such as identifying *only* with Turks and *not* with Germans or the opposite way, contradicts some social psychology and integration literature. Studies on immigrant integration do not always allow for unclear, fuzzy identifications. Traditional assimilation theory, which posits that successful immigrant incorporation means that “individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures” (Berry 1997, 9) has made way to theories that consider more ways of how different immigrant and ethnic groups can live together in a society, without fully assimilating, i.e. giving up their culture (see for example Berry’s acculturation strategies), but this is not necessarily reflected in research. Consequently, a high share of people with a Turkish family background in a Turkish-German’s network is interpreted as a sign of lacking integration, or the consumption of Turkish media a sign of “media ghettoization” (Sauer 2009, 177, own

translation). A clear adherence to the majority group also continues to be a demand of German citizenship policy. Foroutan (2010, 11, own translation) hence states for the German case: "While multiple belongings in the context of identity are recognized as post-modern normalcy, there is at least in German still the criterion of a unilateral decision regarding national, ethnic and cultural belonging, which reflects the idea of assimilation as vision of successful integration".

In social psychology research, Phinney et al. (2007) developed four types of 'ethnic identities', based on how clear a person is about the feeling of belonging to the 'own' ethnic group. The 'achieved ethnic identity' is the most mature one, implying that a person has dealt with her ethnic background and has a clear sense of belonging because of the understanding what ethnic group membership means. According to their typology, most of the Turkish-Germans would rather fall in the category of 'moratorium individuals', they "have engaged (or are currently engaging) in an effort to learn about and understand ethnicity, but they remain unclear about it or express ambivalence about belonging to the group" (Phinney et al. 2007, 479).

Although I do not entirely concur with this typology because it does not allow for a more nuanced identification processes, which pays attention to different forms of identification according to context, there is an important element in the definition of these types, namely that of learning and understanding about ethnicity. For ethnic minorities, such learning is often coupled with negative experiences in majority society, it is the "experience of discrimination [which] catalyzed identity searching" (Quintana & Scull 2009, 91, cf. also Pahl & Way 2006).

Lacin and other Turkish-Germans certainly did learn, and were forced to learn what it means growing up in Germany as member of an ethnic minority group. Some of them, as described in chapter three, spent a few years in Turkey and were confronted with the meaning of being different only when they came (back) to Germany. Lacin's example is telling:

Where I grew up [Hatay]. Very multi-culti, many ethnic peoples, Jews, Christians, Arabs, Turks, Aramean. (...) There were really many cultures, they lived together for thousands of years. (...) And in my class, we were 54 pupils, there were kids with Jewish background, Arab background, Turks. And we didn't have any problems. Nothing. And

then I came here, I was 12, 13. I really only realized here what difference means. ,You are different', ,What?'

For Lacin as well as other participants, the school, and subsequently study or work, are the places where they are confronted with this difference, with standing out and being seen as the other. Nevcan tells about how, when she was around 16 years old, she had serious trouble with identification, not knowing what ethnic group she belonged to. She did not know how to behave, how to act. Whenever she tried to *'act German, people told me 'You are Turkish', so I acted Turkish and then people said, 'You can't do that, that's no good'. So what am I? Am I Turkish or German?'*

Signs of such an identity crisis, as told by other participants as well, were the refusal to speak Turkish, the refusal to go on holidays in Turkey, or the refusal of any religious practice – it is basically a distancing from the parents, and close kin who embodied the Turkish immigrant per se.

Establishing a clear idea of who one 'is', of learning to maneuver (between) the two worlds, was hence a tough road. Now that the Turkish-Germans are in their thirties, forties, and fifties, they feel more secure about their ethnic background, seeing themselves as rather progressive and living in two cultures.

Playing with stereotypes

A sign of the relative security of the Turkish-Germans' ethnic identification is that they can deal with apparent contradictions. For example, they stress with humor any fact that does not fit their self-attributed progressiveness. Behcet, for example, has a Turkish wife, *'even from Turkey, what others did not put past me, and me neither, but it simply happened. I proposed to her after 48 hours'*. Likewise Enginalp, who, with exaggerated Turkish accent, says *'Got Turkish wife from home, just like everybody'*. Having a Turkish spouse is not unusual, but for a man to actually marry a wife from Turkey (not Germany) is stereotypical, so that they have to defend themselves, to themselves. This defense is a way of *managing the self*, "in order to avoid confirming racial stereotypes or being perceived as incarnating them" (Fleming et al. 2012, 408).

Another way is playing with stereotypes that other people have about Turkish migrants. Sati says that she does not like to fool people based on their stereotypes, but she still does it from time to time. Even when she was younger, she already knew how to play people. When she applied for a school in her neighborhood, but was allocated a place in another school in East Berlin, shortly after the fall of the wall, she went to the director of the local school, telling him:

'My parents won't let me go to school if I have to go to the East; they are afraid that something might happen to me'. That wasn't true, obviously, but this thinking, like, the Turkish woman is suppressed, and so on, certain clichés just work very well.

Yurday also likes to provoke people, still in a nice way, about stereotypes. First of all, after the interview, which we did in his Turkish theater, a young Turkish boy came in, and Yurday asked him *'So tell me, how well are you integrated?'*. The boy reacted very surprised, not knowing what to answer. Yurday showed him that he was only making fun. Still, with that comment, he showed how 'integration' is generally perceived – it should be the effort of the ethnic minority member. Yurday also likes to make a fool of people who take him as a German – his last name sounds German and with his accent, people believe him when he says that his father is from Bavaria. So he joins in lamenting about the *'dark-haired'* people in the neighborhood, until finally saying that *'I know, I'm also a Turk, you gotta be careful with these people'* – leaving his counterpart baffled. So it is mocking, but always with a smile.

A last example is that of Selim. Asking him what he has done before opening his café, his ready reply was *'stealing cars, hooking up with chicks in a bar, knocking them up, cheating on them,...'*. In reality he has studied business, but he could not resist bringing up some of the stereotypes that he finds are still too often shown on TV, and particularly in talk shows.

These instances show that the Turkish-Germans are very aware of the stereotypes attributed to Turkish migrants in Germany. They do not fit this image, and hence stress that they have achieved a *mélange* of Turkish and German culture. The fact that they can deal with stereotypes, use them for their own advantage, or mocking people and by that holding a mirror up to their prejudice, basically implies a good knowledge of identity and categorization processes, as Phinney et al. (2007) would attribute to the

‘achieved ethnic identity’. At the same time, it is an instance of *symbolic ethnicity* (Gans 1979) in that the Turkish-Germans decide when and for what purpose to play the ethnic role. Moreover, it shows that the participants actively counter stereotypes, and do not retreat to “defensive cowering” (Goffman 1986, 17).

Another hint on the many facets of ethnic identification emerges looking at situations in which people defend their ethnic background, when they actually stress some level of *groupness*. Dalim for example gets told by his friends that he is not a real Turk:

My friends mostly tell me “You’re not a Turk”, and these are mostly Germans. And I say “Yes, if it depends on it and when it fits better, I am also a Turk”.

Likewise Nevcan who has heard from an elderly German woman, one of her customers in the beauty salon, that she is not the ‘typical’ Turkish migrant. Nevcan who actually claims that she is neither Turkish nor German but has developed an ‘own’ identity, sees that as an instance when she has to defend her Turkish background:

Now you know me personally, and that is why you think differently. But it’s often that people have prejudice. They say “You are Turkish?”, I say “yes”. “Hmm... But you’re not like a Turk”, I say “Why?”, “Well, because you are different”, and I say “No, I am not different”.

People as Dalim or Nevcan, just as the other upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans often hear from native-German friends or colleagues that they do not fit their image of the typical Turkish migrant. Since that already hints at a certain conception of what the *typical* Turkish migrant is in the eyes of majority members, Nevcan and others vividly claim that they are indeed (also) Turkish. With that they also work towards reaching a change in the image that most people have of ‘the’ Turkish migrant.

Turkish & German Culture

Saying that one is bi-cultural, that one has managed a *mélange* of two different cultures implies having an idea about the central dimensions of these cultures. The Turkish-Germans indeed have a good conception of and general agreement on the positive as well as rather negative character traits they consider typical for Turkish or German culture. Among the positive ones mentioned as expression of Turkishness are *Geselligkeit*, a stronger emphasis on feelings and emotions, and a higher importance of

family and community. For German culture, the participants mention punctuality, structure and organization, and the possibility to achieve upward mobility when putting effort in it. Among the rather negative characteristics attributed to Turkish culture is that people get provoked easily, that feelings can be hurt easily. Regarding a more negatively perceived character trait of Germans is that they are very reason-oriented and that feelings do not play an important role.

Mithat expresses the difference in the display of feelings that he thinks exists between Turks and Germans:

There is an affection and sympathy for others. And that's a bit stronger for us, in the Turkish cultural circle. Yes. I do suffer with other people. If somebody comes and I see, he has a problem, I can't just say that this is not my problem.

Mahir likewise points out that...

... we are more focused on feelings, you are cleaner (...) I mean the organization, clean in the widest sense. (...) So you could say 'Come on, you [German] can be a little less stiff, and you [Turk] can learn to work a bit more structured'.

In contrast to the emotional side they observe for Turks, Germans are perceived to act more reasonable. Nasir sums up:

What I like about Germans is that they don't lose their temper so quickly. Of course, there are exceptions. They can communicate with words, and no matter what happens, they mostly stay calm. I like that, I appreciate it, the discipline. And the accurateness.

The different styles of interaction can lead to misunderstandings between Turkish-Germans and native-Germans. Özcan points out that the more emotional style of interaction that he displays can be misread as a sign of intimate relations as exhibited mostly in the private sphere. In his view, *'Germans are very sensitive if it comes to private matters'*, and it is therefore better not to inquire about private matters, so that inquiring is not misinterpreted as intrusion to the private sphere.

Managing a symbiosis of the character traits considered to be positive is what the Turkish-Germans strive towards. Getting acknowledgement from 'outside' that this has actually worked makes the participants very proud, as Selami expresses when saying that *'a journalist has done an interview with me, and he said to me: 'Look, you connected the Turkish flexibility with the German accurateness''*. This proudness

indicates again that the *mélange* of different cultures is not something messy, something the Turkish-Germans feel is forced upon them, but that it is their own creation and they feel that they are active in doing and achieving this.

In the Turkish-Germans' stories about creating their bicultural identity, they make reference to language.

Research has shown that language is an important means for identification, and (ethnic) nation-building and other forms of group formation have been connected to language. Blommaert (2005, 214; cf. also Climent-Ferrando 2013) explains the "confluence of a sense of belonging to a language community ('speakers of X') and a sense of belonging to an 'ethnic' community". One of the main defining characteristics of an ethnic community, again, is a shared language. Language, then, is a crucial element for the formation of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2006). Moreover, it can be considered part of a person's cultural repertoire or tool-kit (Swidler 1986). Successful African Americans, for example, can (code-)switch between colloquial language ('slang') used in everyday life and standard English in more official or formal situations (cf. Pattillo-McCoy 2000). Language becomes an expression of identity which changes with context and reference-group.

The Turkish-Germans present the Turkish language as more emotional, conveying an array of feelings, being more flowery. In contrast is the German language they perceive as more apt for describing less-emotional, more technical facts. As Yurday, the owner of a Turkish-German theater says: *'Every language has its own system of thought, and from this system develops a lifestyle and so on'*. Behcet gives an example of how he uses the two languages, which is similar for other participants as well:

I complain in Turkish, the loveable as well, discussion and explaining is mostly in German. It's really strange that you switch, depending on the situation, on the emotion. Saying something in Turkish always has a different emotion, another basis, even though it may have the same content, but it's another kind of articulation, of explaining something (...). It's more flowery, colorful, you use many examples. A lot goes on between the lines. (Behcet, mover)

For most participants, since their parents had limited German language skills, Turkish was their first language, the language they spoke with their family and early friends. There is then an emotional component in the use of the Turkish language. Similarly, Turkish music is also perceived to be more emotional, melancholic. That the Turkish-Germans attribute a higher emotional content to the Turkish language may also be an effect of its use of in more emotional situations.

Whatever the direction of the effect, the practicing of using different languages in different contexts becomes important for identification. This is why the Turkish-Germans also want their children to grow up bi-lingual. Thereby, however, they encounter problems, because the children often grow up in more 'German' environments, meaning kindergartens and schools with high shares of native-Germans (see chapter five). Alkalin for example is concerned that his children do speak perfect German, but only very bad Turkish. Mostly, the children know some Turkish, can understand it and do some small talk. But the Turkish-Germans feel that the children are losing the knowledge of Turkish. Erdim's account is an illustration:

I: So you talk in Turkish with the kids?

E: No, unfortunately not. I missed that, because my wife doesn't speak Turkish, and since we only have little time at all to all talk and chat together, and if I then started to talk in Turkish, then you can forget the day. That's... not so easy. From the outside it may look easy, but it's not. (...) Even if both parents are Turkish, father and mother, they talk in Turkish at home, even their kids talk in German. So how can I do it by myself?

Dalim likewise says that he was not strict enough to enforce the Turkish language. With his first daughter, he tried to speak Turkish, but when she only responded in German, he was not strong enough to keep talking in Turkish.

Others, such as Özcan, Behcet, or Basari were very conscious about raising their children bi-lingual, which was a constant effort. Hatira also succeeded in this regard, and tells how her two sons talk in Turkish with their father, but only German when talking to her.

Community orientation as the most important 'Turkish' characteristic

I have shown so far that the Turkish-Germans are striving to achieve a 'new' ethnic identity that places neither emphasis on Turkish nor on German *groupness*. What is sought is a combination of the two cultures. However, there is one characteristic which is strongly associated with Turkish culture, and which is stressed by all participants and is highly important for identification processes. This is family and community orientation, a topic crucial to the following chapters. The participants place a high value on this orientation, and also actively seek it in their environment – the neighborhood, at work, with family and friends.

Behcet sums up the ways in which he believes people with a Turkish family background are more community oriented:

So what do I see as positive? For example, community life is much more important. There is a pleasant being together, a feeling of belonging, which is stronger; taking care of each other is stronger, communication is stronger. And we're more affectionate, we know far better how to party [laughs], we're more open, hospitality is much more important. Yes, so if you don't have bread, we get bread so that we can share it. Those are the positive attributes.

Behcet claims that Turks have a stronger sense of community, that relations are more intimate between people, affections expressed more openly, and that people share things. These dimensions of community are echoed by other participants as well.

Sati, for example, finds that in European societies, people become increasingly individualized and even lonely. She finds that very sad, and consequently places a high emphasis on keeping good relations with family members and friends:

Or, just to be on call, for my sister or for good friends. Of course, there are situations where I don't like it or when it's getting on my nerves, but then I say 'Hey, this is my sister, of course I'll do it now'. (...) I think that you very consciously give up certain spheres of your life, or you limit yourself consciously, because you put emphasis on certain other spheres in your life.

Talking about privileging certain spheres in life, Selbi points out that doing things with or always being there for family and kin is very important. So she always answers when her sister calls, and she also lives with her mother, which means privileging the family sphere over possible others, such as doing more leisure time activities.

The participants also find that both weaker and stronger ties are more durable for Turks. Cevat explains that even in Germany, the larger family and friendship network he considers typical for people with a Turkish family background is still kept up. He feels Germans break off contact quicker than Turks. In his opinion, Turkish people talk more and address problems more openly, which then leads to more extended, longer lasting ties among people with Turkish family background.

Even weaker ties seem to hold for a long time, as Alper suggests:

For us there exists something like 'hayat' which means long-lasting thankfulness. For example, if you have treated me for a coffee, it's valuable for forty years, meaning you're in my good books. No matter what happens. Anything can happen. Not here [Germany].

With 'not here' he refers to Berlin and Germany and expresses his discontent with communal relations. In his daily life, but mostly his work life, Alper has made many experiences in which just that rule, or basis of interaction, has been disregarded.

Basari refers to another difference he perceives between Germans and Turks, and that is also related to helpfulness:

Or approaching someone, that is not very welcome in Germany. For us, it is without question, if you hear a stranger, he wants to go to some place, then I say 'Well, come on, I'll take you'. In Germany, that would already be an intrusion to the private sphere. They wouldn't understand it, but... this good will can be misinterpreted, that's why we also got a bit more reserved.

Yücesoy points out that in Turkey, the family is still the most important institution, and that there is a primacy on primary relationships. However, what she shows as well is that “inside the home, it is possible to trace a continuum of relationships from the most private to the most public” (135). The accounts of Basari and others suggest that this is something that might differ compared to relations based in the ‘home’ in Germany, which are possibly only of a private nature (see in more detail chapter eight).

An assumed shared understanding and idea of community is a reason for the participants’ valuation of contact to other people with a Turkish family background. Although they stress that they have German friends, they acknowledge that socializing

with fellow Turkish-Germans is different. For most participants, Erol's position captures well how they feel about contact with other Turkish migrants:

Well, let's say I don't look for it, but when I have Turkish friends here, it just feels different. You got to admit that. Many of my friends would say 'I need to see Turks every day'. I'm not like that. (...) But when I then have a Turkish friend here, I talk to him and I can just change the language, there is a certain freedom in that. And the mentality, the way of talking [is different], you talk more emotionally.

What Erol describes comes up in other participants' stories when they acknowledge that there is a certain level of trust when interacting with others who also have a Turkish family background, or that people simply understand each other better. This is what (Barth 1998, 15) describes as a feature of ethnic identification: "The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgment. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game'". Knowing that people play the same game does in this instance not come from shared experience. Rather, the participants expect some form of Turkishness that all Turkish migrants share. To illustrate this again, if they meet a person with a Turkish family background, they would assume that this person shares, for example, the community orientation or places a high value on strong family relations, solely on the basis of the person's Turkish background, not because he may have shared experiences, referring for example to migration, education or employment.

Aydin feels that as well, but cannot explain it himself. He works at a photography shop and often goes to Turkish, but also Greek, Arab or Yugoslavian weddings as photographer. He describes the difficulties when sending a native-German photographer to these weddings:

This culture of a German photographer, he doesn't get it. It's not about religious beliefs. One is Christian, one is Muslim. That's culture, I don't know. We get along very well. But if a German photographer goes [to a wedding], it just doesn't work. We don't know why. They work very well and hard, but it just doesn't match.

Aydin believes that this apparent implicit understanding has something to do with a shared culture. He knows, however, that this is not always or only positive. He is successful in his job, but feels that he cannot spend the money the way he wants to. He

explicitly states that the culture of strong relations is what can inhibit personal freedom:

Because culturally, we stick together as Turks. And character-wise, if you're in business, the client knows your character. What kind of human being are you? You can make money, buy a house, a car. But he [client] is not interested, he wants to know what kind of person you are, your character. That you don't hang out with another woman or man every day. Or you can't... you have money, but you cannot just spend it as you want. You can't. You always have to say, I'm a human being, I am here for you. You have to be a role-model.

A shared understanding of what community and strong ties mean for people with a Turkish family background can have restricting effects as well. It comes with a level of social control, which for Aydin means that he has to be careful and circumspect in how he spends his money, and that he always acts as a role model.

The examples so far showed that a shared understanding of what Turkish culture means, influences and (sometimes) facilitates interaction between Turkish migrants. Shared experiences as an ethnic minority member play a role as well. This is often tied to experiences of discrimination, as Ferda's example illustrates. She likes to socialize with other people who have a Turkish background...

... because I simply get accepted the way I am. And if I talk to them about racism, they know what it is and they have a feel for it. And if I am together with Germans, with my German female friends, then I have to explain everything again. That's why. Also, when I was studying, I was living at home, that was unimaginable for many – 'How, why, how can you live at home with 25, 28 years?'. While with a Turkish friend... it was clear, the question never came up.

Ferda mentions shared experience, referring to racism, and shared values of family orientation. Taken together, the participants' accounts show that the stress on community and strong ties is an assumed shared value among people with a Turkish family background.

Summarizing, the participants stress their bi-culturality, being both Turkish *and* German. They have an idea about what characteristics are more attributable to German and Turkish culture, respectively. Moreover, they agree on what is most important to them about their Turkish background, which is a stress on community and family ties. Self-identification based on ethnic background, thus, seems to be more or

less established. Based on class, however, self-identification becomes more complicated, as the next part will show.

4.3.2. Contested identification along class lines

“She’d never been so close to this strange and beautiful thing, the middle class, and experienced the kind of embarrassment that is actually intrigue, fascination. It was both strange and wondrous. She felt like the prude who walks through a nudist beach, examining the sand. She felt like Columbus meeting the exposed arawaks, not knowing where to look” (Zadie Smith, White Teeth, p. 321)

The quote by writer Zadie Smith nicely describes the feelings by a young girl from a working class family spending a dinner evening at a friend’s place – in a middle class household. The girl is fascinated by this world that she has not known before.

The Turkish-Germans part of this study, due to their upbringing in a working-class environment and subsequent upward social mobility, may have felt similar ‘strange and wondrous’ feelings on this trajectory. Their upward mobility means that they have access to a social world that was unknown to them before, because the parents were mostly working in low-wage jobs. The participants’ upward mobility was then connected to the entry of new spheres, such as higher secondary school, or university.

Broadly speaking, the Turkish-Germans were well aware of their higher status based on income or education, compared to the major share of other Turkish-Germans in Berlin or Germany. This higher status, however, rarely plays a role in self-identification. The awareness of being a member of the middle class was a very formal one. What the participants stressed, however, were their roots, meaning the class of their parents and most people they grew up with: the working class.

Özcan, a very successful and established tax consultant, claims that he is lower middle class: *‘Well, lower middle class. Not receiving welfare, luckily not’*. Note the choice of the word *‘luckily’*. In his context, being dependent on welfare is far from probable, since his income is quite good and his job is going well, and he never relied on welfare.

Mithat shows the carefulness of choosing or deciding for a category:

Well, my parents were simple workers, I would probably also see myself as that. But I also did a bit more, I guess. So maybe, yes, lower middle class. Middle class.

Mithat is the owner of a large driving school, has a high income, and lives with his family in a detached house that they own, in a Berlin suburb. Nevertheless, he still interpreted this almost prototypical middle class lifestyle very carefully.

Özcan as well as Mithat's example show how the unease and difficulties with identifying as middle class. The participants "kindly oblige(d) when asked to assign themselves to a particular social class" (Devine 2004, 191), but they often felt rather uncomfortable doing this. Additional comments to or explanation of the choice of 'middle class' renders the formal membership less relevant, and the Turkish-Germans thus point out their ordinariness (ibid., cf. also Savage et al. 2001). Some participants entirely reject the categorization based on class:

I: So which social class would you consider yourself a member of?

Enginalp: [very quickly and determined] The people. (...) I never thought about that. I... which class. I've never even thought in terms of class. (...)

I: So it is about income, but also about values, what is important in live; so do you think...

E: ... universal. All my values are completely universal, they have nothing to do with class.

Enginalp has a clear animosity towards the term 'class' and dismissed any influence that it might have on people's behaviors or values.

Alkalin explains in more detail the difficulties he has identifying on the basis of class:

Well, I am against categorizations based on income, honestly. A very intelligent academic can be unemployed, but doesn't automatically become a member of the lower class. A super rich person may have a very weak character, and that for me is a lower class. But in terms of his income, he would be upper class. So... I don't have an answer.

The successful lawyer apparently connects a person's social class background with certain character traits. It seems as if it was morally wrong to identify with the middle class. People in Britain likewise prefer not to identify with the middle class (Devine 2004; Skeggs 2011). As Devine (2004, 204) notes from her comparative study on middle class members in Britain and the U.S., the British interviewees connected the mentioning of class to "issues of status, questions of superiority and inferiority and, thus, judgments about worth", adopting a rather dismissive attitude. In the U.S., on the

other hand, people use middle class more often and uncontested in order to describe their “standard of living” – “even when it did not seem to be the case” (ibid., 201).

Interesting in this regard is the stress on the participants’ roots, the class of their parents and most people they grew up with: the working class. Varol claims to be a...

...working class child. Even though I have an academic degree, I wouldn’t consider myself to be something special, or belonging to a certain... wanting to belong to a certain group. I am who I am and I know where I come from. I’m not someone special just because I was lucky enough to study. Other people do that, unfortunately, they forget where they come from.

Knowing where you come from is considered to be very important, forgetting about it is morally wrong. The quotes from Alkalin and Varol show that there is an implicit connection between class and character and moral status. Identification based on class is rejected, and what becomes important is a notion of morality. To assess other people, as well as to identify oneself, morality trumps socioeconomic aspects. With that, the Turkish-Germans resemble one of three groups described by Lamont (1992), studying systems of classification of the French and American upper middle classes. These “do not consider cultural sophistication important. More central to them are moral qualities: honesty, respect for others, charity, egalitarianism, and sincerity. Worldly success is secondary to “what kind of human being you are”. They oppose those who judge others on the basis of their income, occupational prestige, or the status of their leisure-time activities. (...) Their definitions of a “worthy person” revolves (!) around moral rather than cultural principles” (ibid., xxvi). Matching with that is the Turkish proverb that Bedia mentions:

My dad always said, there is this Turkish proverb, ‘Rich people are rich because they are greedy persons’ [laughing]. So they only give when there is some profit involved for them.

This again underlines the imperative not to place too much value on money alone. Being rich is explicitly linked to greediness, a morally despicable character trait. Not only are they greedy, but they also become seclusive, something that is a reason for Selami not to put too much emphasis on social class – even though he is a successful real estate developer:

Because with a certain level of wealth, (...) these people want to stay among themselves. Also because the culture of envy is enormous in Germany. That's just the way it is.

For Selami and others, such homogeneous socializing with people who have the same socioeconomic background, is clearly not desirable. Neither Selami nor any other of the Turkish-Germans uses his or her higher socioeconomic position in order to gain advantages. Hughes took the example of Blacks in the U.S. to describe the dilemma for the 'outsider professional', saying that "Given the tendency of whites to say that any Negro who rises to a special position is an exception, there is a strong temptation for such a Negro to seek advantage by fostering the idea that he is unlike others of his race", which he calls "sacrificing his race" (1945, 358). For the Turkish-Germans, such sacrificing does not occur, even as an idea. Instead, there is a clear allegiance with their lower class Turkish-German peers, be they family, kin or friends.

Again, the main reason for the difficulties with middle class identification stems from the Turkish-Germans' family background. They come from lower class families, have sisters and brothers who have not succeeded in school, or childhood friends who are also in a lower class. Despite the acknowledgement of a more formal belonging to the middle class, Özcan, Alkalın and others stress that they are still down-to-earth, that they do not forget their roots, and this again is related to not spoiling one's character because of a better socioeconomic status.

The rather fuzzy identification of the upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans reflects their role as 'brokers'. Talking about middle class blacks, Pattillo (2000, 117, italics in original) points out that they are the middlemen whose "life is lived *on the border* rather than fully in the worlds on either side". In order to being able to live in both worlds, on both sides, it is crucial for these better educated, higher earning Turkish-Germans not to put too much emphasis on their socioeconomic status. This broker - role is also important with regard to their occupations. Many are self-employed and though they do not necessarily cater (exclusively) to Turkish clients, Turkish migrants, among them also those with lower class background, still present a potential client base. Employed participants such as Devran or Baysan, both in community management, also interact

with lower class Turkish migrants, and the political involvement of Enginalp or Nursel partly rests on their Turkish voter base.

However, the focus on the working class roots and issues of morality does not only come from the Turkish-Germans' socializing with lower class members. It also comes from social categorization and a feeling of denial of middle class status by others (cf. also chapter eight). Yurday, 59 years with a university degree and a job that secures him a good income, throws the question of social class identification back at me, to show that being Turkish prevents a person from identifying as middle class:

*Well, you know, I have an academic degree. So what do you think, which class should I be affiliated with? **Even though I am Turkish.***

This quote hints at a mismatch between people's self-identification and social categorization. Selami mentions how he can feel that when he drives up somewhere with a more fancy car, 'they [Germans] all look, "where did he get the money? (...) He probably sold drugs, or was dealing with women or guns"'. This as well is a sign of a perceived incompatibility of having a Turkish background and being successful.

So far, research on identification at the intersection of ethnic minority status and middle class status is not very extensive. Archer's (2011) exploratory study about ethnic minority middle class parents, young professionals and pupils in England about identification with middle class is an exception. One crucial finding was a "lack of identification with middle-classness, not least of which was the perception that middle-class identity is exclusionary to minority ethnic groups because it is organized around whiteness" (ibid., 140). For one, middle-classness as an important aspect was hardly mentioned at all. The interviewer had to lead the people to the topic. If it was mentioned, her interviewees showed some unease. Even when respondents identified as middle class, due to values they held or their socioeconomic status, they felt that they were not 'really' middle class because of their ethnic background: "Whiteness and middle-class identity are conflated within dominant discourse" (ibid., 144). That is why members of ethnic minorities believe that majority members perceive them as

working class simply due to their ethnic background. This form of social categorization has a major influence, as shown in the following part.

4.4. Social categorization

Gruner's study (2010) of white German residents' ideas about people of color, mainly Turkish immigrants, show that they regard these migrants as poor, lazy, and self-segregating. My own research with employees of social housing associations has equally shown that Turkish and Arab migrants are perceived to be lazy, to mostly live on welfare, and not to be willing to work (Barwick 2011). Besides, Turkish migrants are also categorized as Muslim, which again carries with it certain ideas about religious practices or gender roles that make them different from majority society (Klusmeyer 2001; cf. also Alba 2005).

As Jenkins has pointed out, identification is as much about self-identification as it is about social categorization. This is particularly true for ethnic minority groups that are stigmatized in the wider society. In that regard, the attempt to identify as Turkish-German, with the stress on the latter, is often challenged by German society. Social categorization is often tied to racism, "a process in which characteristics of the body, especially skin colour are tied to personal attributes" (Gruner 2010, 277). In social psychology research there is ambivalence regarding the effects of discrimination on ethnic identification. As Quintana and Scull (2009, 87) posit for Latinos' experiences in the U.S., "experiencing threat and discrimination may positively influence the strength of ethnic identification for Latinos, but this exposure to threat also negatively influenced their attitudes toward their ethnicity".

Talking about ethnicity and belonging is always a sensitive issue, and some Turkish-Germans reacted rather negative to the corresponding questions, such as Mehri:

The issue is, I don't like these questions, they really bother me. I grew up with latent racism, and there is a huge animosity towards German society. Because I only grew up with discrimination. I do have many great friends, that's not the issue. On the other hand, Turkish society is also very conservative and racist and... partly disgusting. So I have a bad relation there as well. So I'm moving within both societies, trying to move in a space that is outside both societies. That's my space. So this German, or Turkish, is totally passing me by.

Mehri is, like most others in the sample, in his forties, hence the notion of moving in a space that is somehow outside German or Turkish society was not just a rebellion against boundaries, as it may be common in the process of growing up and finding groups to identify with. It is a necessity, resulting from the many negative experiences with categorization and racism. There is an omnipresence of social categorization, of being treated differently because of the phenotype, (assumed) culture and religiosity, or language, that covers many different fields of society, ranging from the formalized law, through day to day workings in state institutions, to the more informal daily interactions with people on the ground (cf. Wimmer 2013).

This introductory example illustrates the omnipresence of social categorization the Turkish-Germans' daily life. How does this look like in more detail?

Intellectual framing of public discourse – media and politics

For social categorization, we can get a better understanding by considering the discourse on migration and integration in Germany and Berlin. Since Behcet and others mentioned several issues that were publicly debated at the time of the interviews, I will provide a brief overview of the topics and events that have influenced the discourse in politics and the media in the years around 2011 and 2012.

In 2012, two years after chancellor Merkel declared that multiculturalism in Germany had failed, public opinion in media and politics contributed to a prejudiced view of Turkish (or Arab) migrants, focusing on their undeservingness and how they present a threat to safety, to the economy, or moral values (cf. Gans 1995). Two books by Berlin politicians were published that were very negatively received by the Turkish community. First of all, there was the book by Thilo Sarrazin, a then member of the social democrats – a party more sympathetic to the issues of migrants – called 'Deutschland schafft sich ab' (*Germany cancels itself*). The book and its main hypotheses became well-known in Germany, but especially in Berlin – also because Sarrazin was a former minister of the Berlin Senate. In the book, he describes lower-class immigrants come to Germany, who inherit their low IQ to their children, as well as the inability to integrate, particularly for Muslims (cf. Schuler 2010). In an interview

with 'Lettre International', preceding the book publication, Sarrazin said that he would not recognize anyone who constantly "produces new little girls with headscarves" (Berberich 2009, 200, own translation). The publication of Sarrazin's book was "the decisive turning point" (Öktem 2013, XI) for Muslims in Germany, which made clear that majority society is not welcoming Muslim immigrants. The partly racist claims lead to a process of exclusion of his person from the Social Democratic Party.

In 2012, within my interview phase, another book appeared, from notorious mayor of Neukölln, Heinz Buschkowsky. His hypotheses and statements were not as negative as those of Sarrazin, but they pointed in the same direction, and again talked about migrant families, lost Turkish and Arab youths, making them responsible for their situation (cf. Schmitz 2012a).

Another discussion centered on the prohibition of circumcision. Although clearly not all Turkish migrants practice Muslim faith, it was this community that was affected by the discussion. The rationale of the politicians was that religious freedom is not to be valued as highly as the well-being of the child. There was a general feeling that the complete ban on circumcision was only circumvented because of the inclusion of the Jewish community. As an author from an influential German newspaper wrote: „If the circumcision was practiced by Muslims only, it would be prohibited in Germany, just as minarets are prohibited in Switzerland" (Chaouli 2012).

Another incident upsetting Germany and Turkish-Germans in particular was the revelations around the Neo-Nazi Terror Cell. Between 2000 and 2006, eight Turkish migrants have been murdered in Germany. It was only in 2012, however, that these murders have been tied to four specific people who were members of the right-wing terror organization *Nationalist Socialist Underground (NSU)*. Before, the police had assumed that the murders were 'intra-ethnic', and assumed that the victims had been involved in drug-trafficking or other forms of organized crime. They did not consider the possibility that crimes could have been committed by a right-wing, nationalist group, out of hatred and racism (Sundermann 2014).

Regarding the broader media, a study of five German newspapers on the positions towards Muslims and Islam has shown that these are more often negative than

positive, in contrast to other countries studied, such as France, Belgium or Switzerland. Germany is a country “with a particularly closed and “negative” context” (Tillie et al. 2012, 39; cf. also Alba 2005; Öktem 2013). In addition, positions are very polarized, meaning that they are not balanced, but clearly pro or contra.

Cousin and Vitale (2012) have shown how (political) intellectuals in Italy have contributed to increased Islamophobia by publishing books that clearly evoke moral panic. They show how, for example, “the ‘Moroccans’ of the 1990s have been transformed into ‘Muslims’, ‘Islamics’ or even ‘Mohammedans’ in the 2000s” (ibid., 58). In the German context, an image has developed that depicts Turkish migrants as being Muslim (which includes the repression of women), unwilling to integrate, not attributing enough importance to education, and living on welfare or having low-skilled jobs.

Particularly the books by Sarrazin and Buschkowsky evoked diverse reactions, ranging from disbelief, anger, to curiosity or simple disregard. The issue is mostly that forwarded by Honneth – the reservation of recognition, and moreover the disregard of the context of guest worker’s immigration to Germany and the bad German education system. Alper who makes his anger most explicit:

What do you [directed to Neukölln-mayor Buschkowsky] think why the Turk sells fruits and veggies here on the market, you smart ass? Cause we don’t get any jobs. I was employed only once in my life, when I was 15, 16 years old and that was for four months. I never got another job after that. So I became self-employed. And when the Kofnakke¹⁴ sells his veggies here, or cuts kebab, he is supporting his family. So you can’t judge them. Go and work for six hours at such a fucking kebab-spit. It broils away your ass.

Alper mainly addressed the economic argument of the two politicians. When they claimed that migrants mainly work as green grocers or sell kebab, and presented that as something that has to change, Alper said that they forgot that the reason is discrimination, there is no work for migrants because employers do not hire them.

Ferda perceives another unfairness:

¹⁴ Rather degrading expression for a Turkish migrant

Whether it is Sarrazin, Buschkowsky, all these books, but also in politics. If I just hear, you have to know the German language if you want to integrate. And you need the German citizenship, and the equality of men and women has to be recognized. Then I ask myself, what kind of equality are they talking about? As if all German women were equal [to men].

The issue here is not so much that migrants are blamed for a certain problem, but that a problem is presented as if it only existed among migrant groups.

Corresponding to Cousin and Vitale's finding that images advanced in the media have an effect on the wider population, the Turkish-Germans felt changes in people's behaviors towards them. Behcet felt an increase of prejudice towards Turkish migrants:

I find that since the book publication of Mister Sarrazin, the Ur-German so to speak, it [xenophobia] did increase a bit. I think that many previously suppressed issues surfaced then, because many people might have felt encouraged to actually voice certain things.

Sometimes, people even legitimize their actions by referring to Sarrazin's book. Selbi recounts how, when she was in a short period of unemployment, had an appointment at the job-center. Her case officer was very disappointed when she saw Selbi because – judging by the good qualifications on the CV – she did not expect Selbi to be a woman with a headscarf – a clear sign of a refusal to integrate. In telling why she was so disappointed she also made reference to Sarrazin's book, saying that he was right. For Selbi, this was beyond disbelief:

If I hear something like that, it's tragic and comical at the same time. It's ridiculous, but it's also an event to listen to something like that. (...) And I mean, she was alright, she wasn't unfriendly, she didn't grimace, she simply repeated what she was reading. And that was for me the living evidence that the topics that we [a group of Turkish migrants doing a political blog] criticize, that they do have an influence, an impact. People make arguments with that.

In this case, the stereotypes advanced by Sarrazin have been adapted by a public service employee. More than just insulting people, this has real consequences, since the employee's ideas and stereotypes about migrants might prevent her from helping out, from allocating the resource 'employment', only on the basis that Selbi was wearing a headscarf, and that was connected to various stereotypes about Turkish or Muslim migrants, as advanced by Sarrazin. By displaying her adherence to a particular

religious group which is perceived to be poor and unwilling to integrate, Selbi becomes part of this *undeserving* group. Selbi, as a Muslim, presents a “moral value threat”, a “danger(.) to what is believed to be culturally and morally proper” (Gans 1995, 82). With wearing a headscarf, she clearly deviates from the mainstream culture as imagined by the person in charge. The headscarf becomes so strong a symbol of another culture that it trumps her good qualifications on paper. This is also a gender-specific instance of discrimination, since only women wear a headscarf. Within my sample, Selbi was the only woman with the visible sign of religious affiliation, which may be a reason for why experiences of discrimination did not differ much for the Turkish-German men and women.

Moreover, this instance shows the importance of power relations in categorization processes. They “matter a great deal in the nature and long-term consequences of the discrimination. If the discriminator is white and reflects the majority group (...) and if the discrimination is by an agent in authority (...) the consequences for the target of the discrimination are much more severe than if an equal from another minority group exhibits tensions or resentments” (Waters & Kasinitz 2010, 120).

In summary, the intellectual framing of public discourse was rather to the disadvantage of Turkish migrants in Germany and Berlin. The books published by (former) politicians, as well as discussions around circumcision or the revealing of the NSU-murders all contributed to a negative image of Turkish migrants in Berlin. As the examples showed, particularly the stereotypes and opinions about Turkish migrants were appropriated by some members of majority society and reflected in the interactions between Turkish-Germans and native-Germans.

Recognition denied: the successful Turkish migrant

Selami who was long convinced that there was no racism in Germany, meanwhile feels that he has to fight prejudice and discrimination. He believes that his visible otherness is associated with certain character traits attributed by majority society to Turkish migrants. He talks about how his colleagues keep telling him that he is German:

So I only have the Turkish look. If I start talking in German, they say you talk like a German and all. But the look says a lot about a person, and people judge first, they

look, visually absorb. And then you talk. And then you feel during the first moments, that there is a question mark in their eyes, I feel that, yes. They think "There is something good coming out? He can talk. He even speaks German".

Devran who in reality has a German-sounding first name and cannot from his looks be categorized as Turkish, has the opposite experience:

This cultural identity is always connected to external ascriptions. Always in relation to my [last] name, because it clearly does not sound German, while my verbal expressions as well as phenotypically, uhm, the category 'not German' isn't so readily made. And then there is always this gap, always this moment when I tell my [last] name, that's when the ascription from others becomes effective.

Both examples show the importance of social categorization. On the one hand, the person is being perceived, judged by his looks to be Turkish and certain characteristics are attached to that, as for example not having a good command of German language. On the other hand, a person who is judged as German is suddenly, at the 'revelation' of the Turkish background perceived as not being German anymore, as being different. Both the Turkish look and the Turkish name are a stigma, "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman 1986, 3). The stigma of the different phenotype is immediately visible and cannot be concealed, whereas the name can be, at least to a certain extent. As soon as the stigma is revealed, the commonly held stereotypes about Turkish migrants – as being poor, lazy, violent, living from welfare – take effect and lead to social categorizations, which again influences the Turkish-Germans' self-identification. Particularly with regard to the different phenotype, Du Bois (1994) or Fanon (2008) have coined the term 'double consciousness', showing how Blacks (African Americans in the U.S., as well as colonized Blacks in African countries) develop a view on themselves through a white perspective (cf. also Hall 1990; Moore 2005). Being aware of the stereotypes is similar to that double-consciousness. Selami knows why Germans react with amazement to his perfect German language skills, and Devran likewise knows why people react strangely when he reveals his last name. They are capable of seeing themselves through the eyes of native-Germans and hence are aware of the stereotypes and thus now about the reactions as well as about the 'right' ways of responding.

As pointed out, commonly held images of Turkish migrants by ethnic majority people are that they are poor, lazy, and dependent on welfare. I have also shown that the participants hardly identify as being middle class. One reason is that these two categories do not fit together in German society, an experience that the participants too often make.

Hughes described a different, but in a way comparable situation, referring to successful Blacks in the U.S. Being successful means not fitting the stereotypes: "In the person of the professionally qualified Negro these two powerful characteristics [race and professional status] clash. The dilemma, for those whites who meet such a person, is that of having to choose whether to treat him as a Negro or as a member of his profession" (Hughes 1945, 357). Since, however, the professional status is not immediately recognizable (except for when one goes to a lawyer or doctor's office), ethnicity remains the master status and the respective characteristics are attributed to the person.

Selami's experiences are a good illustration. He is a real estate developer, renovating dilapidated buildings in disadvantaged neighborhoods in Berlin. There is a social component in his work, since the renovated apartments are not just rented out to the most reliable renters, but to disadvantaged people. Sometimes, space is reserved for artists, certain apartments are accessible to people in wheelchairs, and one building is a mix of different generations. He hence feels that he is contributing to social cohesion, and he knows that the people in the buildings as well as the surrounding neighborhoods are very thankful to him and the improvements in the quality of life that he is responsible for. He then talks about an incident with the police, where he was treated in a very unfair way, which he contributes to the police being racist. On Christmas Eve, he dropped his mother, an elderly lady wearing a headscarf, at her home. He briefly parked the car in a stopping restriction at the front of her home, to let her get out of the car. After that the police followed and stopped him and he eventually had to appear before court. He felt treated in a very unfair way, which he contributes to the police being racist, and no longer feels recognized as a full citizen. He gets in

rage when talking about this, saying that it is just unfair because like that, his efforts are in a way undone:

Because I do things in Germany, I create living space for socially weak people. And not only little. At least 500 last year. 500 for socially weak people who receive welfare. I create living space for them. And then I get treated like that, from such a puissant cop. Sorry for the choice of words. And that makes me mad. (...) Especially since I was always waving the flag for Germany.

The negative treatment of the police on the sole basis of his phenotype makes him feel like all his efforts crumble to soil. Other Turkish-Germans also talked about unfair treatment by the police and confirm what Waters and Kasinitz (2010, 116) describe, namely that discrimination by the police has a particularly strong effect on ethnic and racial minorities, because “negative treatment by them (...) represents negative treatment by the larger society”. As they go on to describe, and this is crucial, class status does not play any role in such instances of racism by police, indeed, ‘the hard-earned social status made frustratingly little difference to the man empowered to arrest’ (ibid., 116). Umut has witnessed various incidents in which he felt Turkish migrants were treated different than native-Germans. One time, he recalls, he saw a young Turkish man in his car, briefly parking second row, which is usually prohibited, while waiting for his friend who was getting a kebab at a stand on the other side of the street. A police car drove right up to him, provoked him and then ordered a big police bus, in order to deal with this situation. Umut says that he and other eye witnesses were shocked at the way the police dealt with this situation.

What is denied to in such instances is recognition for the Turkish-Germans’ contributions to German society. As described by Honneth, people are in a constant fight for recognition from others, but recognition is not accessible to all people alike. Selami’s example is an instance of (felt) denied recognition in the sphere of achievements. Selami feels that the police make false assumption about his social background, solely on the basis of his ethnic background.

Honneth further explains how the denial of recognition leads to reification, the subject is being objectified. The example of Behcet illustrates that process:

I believe this is part of the doom, that you are always being defined as a problem of society, not as a part of its solution, that's the issue. If you talk about migrants, you basically only talk about problems, at least it seems like it. And so suddenly I become part of a problem although I see myself as being part of the solution.

What happens here is that Behcet who feels as a subject who is contributing to (German) society in several ways – e.g. he consciously set up his lawyer's office in a native-German dominated neighborhood, because he knew that Germans would not go to a lawyer with a Turkish name in an immigrant neighborhood, hence trying to make his “professional identity more salient than racial identity” (cf. Fleming et al. 2011, 410) - is denied recognition as an equal member, but made a problem, an object. In the quote he acknowledges that not only him, but migrants in general are labeled as a problem. However, he still considers himself – and other migrants – to be part of the solution. He hence shows the capability to react to stereotypes and stigmatization and affirm his and other migrants' *positive* role. In that way, he also shows resilience, in the way that Hall and Lamont (2013, 2) use the concept: “the capacity of groups of people bound together in an organization, class, racial group, community, or nation to sustain and advance their well-being in the face of challenges to it”. Instead of ‘retreating’ to forms of social closure, he continues to be *resilient* despite being perceived as ‘the problem’, and continuously works against that stigmatization.

Even when people think they are just being friendly or interested, this can reveal racist ideas. Unintentionally, the Turkish-Germans are put in the category of the poor migrant who is unwilling to integrate.

In this regard, a common experience of the participants is that of positive discrimination (see also Petzen 2004). In such instances, “ethnic classifications that were not meant to be discriminatory (...) discriminated ethnic groups as separate units” (Blokland 2003a, 9). For example, native-Germans recognize the Turkish-Germans' achievements, such as language skills, which however only shows *‘that you haven't dealt with that topic at all’* (Özcan). This is particularly annoying when the categorizing person already knows about the respective person's professional status:

“Your German is really good”. I find this is brazen, if you know that I’m a lawyer, I have my A-levels and a university degree, and that this degree has many focuses on language and that you have to be able to express yourself written and orally. Otherwise you just can’t do a second state examination. And it makes me angry when I then still get asked why my German is so good. And they mean it in a positive way. They really don’t mean it in a bad way.

The good language skills are “assessed as signs of remarkable and noteworthy capacities” (Goffman 1986, 14), which seem untypical for the stigmatized group of people with a Turkish family background. From the perspective of the native-Germans, the ones who categorize, such “expressions of understanding” basically “reflect(.) identifications with their *own* group” (Blokland 2003b, 170). In this way, people are unintentionally categorized and ethnicity becomes the ‘dividing field’. The problem with the apparent friendliness and helpfulness of native-Germans towards the Turkish-Germans is that it has real consequences. Acknowledging the good language skills is a form of categorization, which confirms the existence and salience of the ethnic category.

4.5. Summary

For self-identification, the Turkish-Germans stress their bi-culturality, their belonging to and being influenced by Turkish and German culture. What they strive to combine are the more emotional side attributed to some form of Turkishness, and the orderliness and structure, perceived to be typical for German culture. Although the issue of identification along ethnic lines is a sensitive issue, people like Selami do display proudness of having managed to find a ‘new’ culture that they embody. Much less importance is attributed to identification based on middle class status. In contrast, although the Turkish-Germans are well aware of their upward mobility and higher status, they stress their working class roots. Instead of basing identification processes on socioeconomic status and particularly cultural capital (having a university degree) or economic capital, morality seems to be much more important dimension of identification. In essence, ethnic and class identification can be characterized as hybrid. The difference, however, is that for ethnic identification, this hybridity is clearly an aim,

something positive whereas for social class, the hybridity, somewhere in between the working and middle class, results from an unease to identify with middle class, due to moral reasons (cf. also chapter eight).

For identification along the lines of ethnic background as well as class, there is a clear influence through social categorizations, by native-Germans. First of all, Turkish-Germans are expected to display clear groupness and identify with either Turkish or German society. Hence, the hybrid identities, the felt belonging to two cultures, have to be defended and justified by the Turkish-Germans time and time again.

Further, due to social categorization, there is a felt incompatibility between being member of an ethnic minority *and* being middle class. Due to stereotypes and racist ideas held by German society, successful Turkish-Germans are denied the status as full members of society, and particularly as members of the middle class. Hence, two equal persons in socioeconomic terms can still have a different status in society, and on the sole basis of ethnic background, one person is denied *recognition* in the sphere of achievements.

In contrast to other mixed results on the relation between discrimination and ethnic groupness, the Turkish-Germans do not seem to retreat in clear groupness, but keep on stressing their identification as *Turkish-Germans*. In later chapters, we will see, however, that for actual practices – the make-up of networks for example – these social categorizations do have more profound effects.

Chapter five: Moving or staying – the choice process

This chapter presents the main reasons why the participants live in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area or why they have moved out into a more advantaged one. The first part deals with the influence of strong ties, mainly family ties, on residential choice. A strong family orientation influences both movers and stayers. The following two parts deal with characteristics of the neighborhoods and the residents, which can work as push factors and result in a move. On the one hand, it is the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood, including a high share of unemployed and a general negative atmosphere, which makes some participants move out. On the other hand, particularly for family households, the neighborhood is evaluated as a place for reproduction. The socioeconomically weak neighborhoods do not provide good-quality educational institutions for the children, which becomes the reason for moving into a better equipped area.

5.1. The decision: Moving or staying

‘Why families move?’ is what Rossi, one of the first sociologists focusing on residential mobility, asked more than thirty years ago. He attributed changes in address to changes in a family’s life cycle: “the major function of mobility [is] the process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life cycle changes” (Rosssi 1980, 9). Stages in the life cycle that likely have an effect on the family’s housing needs are marriage or the birth of children. Next to household needs, the environment can alter, too. The population structure may change, e.g. due to gentrification processes, or the built environment can decay or be upgraded.

The changes affect place utility – “the net composite of utilities which are derived from individual’s integration at some position in space” (Wolpert 1965). A housing situation is evaluated as satisfactory, as long as a certain standard is reached. This standard, or aspiration level, differs between individuals or households, but can be expected to be similar for certain groups, based on age, household composition (particularly the presence of children), lifestyle etc. (cf. Wolpert 1965). If the place utility is below the

aspiration level, some form of adaptation will occur (cf. also Schneider & Spellerberg 1999).

A move is one such adaptation strategy. Thereby costs and benefits are weighed according to place utility or residential satisfaction. The main question is whether there is a place (neighborhood) that fits the household's aspiration level.

In an extension of Wolpert's work, Brown and Moore (1970) point to the fact that moving is not the only strategy. A household can also react by adjusting its needs, or try to restructure the environment so that it better satisfies the household's needs (cf. Brown & Moore 1970; Kecskes 1994). These three strategies reflect Hirschman's concept of exit, voice and loyalty (Hirschman 1970). 'Exit' would be exemplified by a move, whereas 'voice' would mean that a person becomes active in order to change his or her environment (cf. Gebhardt 2008; Kecskes 1994). 'Loyalty' would consist of keeping up with the situation, to wait and see whether any other changes may occur that reconcile the household's preferences and the place utility.

These three strategies show that staying is also an active decision and cannot be regarded as a passive one (cf. also Antweiler 2002; Sampson 2012; Steinführer 2004). Assuming that a person is dissatisfied but does not want to move s/he has the possibility to improve the housing situation, for example by renovating. If someone is dissatisfied with the neighborhood, but does not want to move, that person may found or join a neighborhood association in order to change something in the area. Moving and staying should thus be analyzed as active processes or conscious decisions.

5.2. Strong ties and residential choice

„Let no bus separate us“ – that is the essence of one of the New York Times' house hunting stories, involving an Indian women whose husband had just passed away, and her two grown up kids (Cohen 2012). They went to pains in a very long process searching a house for the mother and her daughter in close spatial proximity to the son/brother. That a dwelling was sought in close spatial proximity was never a question. It was clear for the Indian family that no bus should separate them.

The mobility models presented above do not consider family ties an important factor influencing residential choice, particularly not for intra-urban mobility. Schneider and Spellerberg (1999) for example state an ent-traditionalization, pointing to a decreased importance of the family in housing and neighborhood choice. In contrast, other spheres such as employment and free-time have gained in importance and now play a major role in deciding where someone wants to live. Horr (2008) likewise states that spatial proximity to friends and family members only play a secondary role in neighborhood choice. The general trend of “increasing fragility of social bonds, notably family ties” (Le Galès 2002, 121f.) on the macro level seems to be reflected on the meso-level of the neighborhood, and plays a role in individual decisions on residential mobility.

Research specifically on ethnic minorities, however, often shows a different picture. Comparing Blacks and Whites in the U.S. context has shown that Blacks’ family attachment leads to lower mobility rates (Spilimbergo & Ubeda 2002). For the Netherlands, Zorlu (2009) has demonstrated that family ties impact the propensity to move for Turkish and Moroccan migrants. If they have parents or siblings in Amsterdam, migrants are less likely than native Dutch to move out of the city. Even when controlling for other potential influencing characteristics, the result remains that “the impact of family ties is stronger for Turks and Moroccans than natives and other groups” (ibid., 337).

The family orientation in social networks of (Turkish) migrants has been confirmed as well. Particularly for lower class migrants, it has been documented that close family ties can be both boon and bane (Gestring et al. 2004; Häußermann & Siebel 1996). Close family ties „are net and cage at the same time. The family net offers reliable but restricted resources. Its social and ethnic homogeneity means that network members can mostly offer the same kind of resources: unemployed people do not have much money to lend, precariously employed only know jobs within that segment, and Turks only have information about the housing segment that is available for Turks. The high *susceptibility to distance* of the social nets additionally limits the options in the housing market” (Gestring et al. 2004, 10, own translation, emphasis added).

This quote has a negative undertone, emphasizing the disadvantageous influence of family on residential mobility. However, it should be noted that the study, which the results are based on (Janßen & Polat 2005), deals with a homogenous migrant group. The focus is on unemployed people with a Turkish family background who do not have many ties to other social and ethnic groups. As in the previous studies, strong family ties are presented as something negative, something that impedes residential – and implicitly also social – mobility.

Likewise, Logan and Spitze (1994, 468) interpret a higher number of ‘family neighbors’ among ethnic minorities as an effect of constraints: “Living in the same neighborhood as a parent or child may be more directly and concretely affected by the constraints experienced by (...) minority persons. These constraints are external to the person rather than choices or preferences associated with their status”. Without knowing more about the reasons for living in the same neighborhood, they assume that this should be interpreted as a constraint, not as a preference.

It is important to stress, however, that family orientation is not necessarily something negative, in the sense that people feel stuck. On the contrary, family orientation is part of a sense of community, of caring for other people, and that presents a very important resource for ethnic identification.

Generally, European urban sociology has long stressed the importance of social networks. This stands in contrast to the United States, but also to the United Kingdom, where high rates of residential mobility prevail. At the same time, however, strong social networks are – as shown in the previous accounts – presented as a rather negative phenomenon, since they potentially inhibit residential mobility. In addition, there is often an assumed ethnic and social dimension. Mostly, poor families from ethnic minority backgrounds are presented to have very strong, locally-based networks. The contrast is the professional, highly-mobile elite who does not have nor care about local networks. That this dualism is too rigid will become clear in the remainder of the chapter.

Among the participants, there are some who still live with their parent(s), often only one, when the other parent has passed away. Sati exemplifies what most participants think about the strong relations between parents and their (grown-up) children:

Alright, so I am 38 years and I live with my mother. Not because I don't have any alternatives, but because I believe that it is the right thing to do (...) if you have the possibility to do so. (...) But within European societies, the wish for individualization is so strong that it is impossible, a no-go, to still live with your mother at that age. (...) That's why people get lonely. I find that very sad here.

Sati clearly points out the positive notion of family orientation. It is part of a Turkish mentality, one that can be easily invoked, and that the participants use to exemplify differences between German and Turkish 'culture' (see chapter four). In the following we will see the influence of strong ties on residential choice for stayers and movers.

Stayers

Among the stayers, those who still live with their parents, mostly live only with one parent, because the other one has passed away already. Living with the parent is a form of support, which is never challenged. The previous quote by Sati already showed that living with family members is common for Turks. In contrast, living alone is uncommon. Family life is highly valued. The stayers who live with their remaining parent have been living in the respective apartment for a very long time, often for more than ten years, and hence still have very good rent deals, but also invested a lot of work in the apartment.

Umut, a 45 year old tax consultant, for example, says that *'My mother won't move out of this area. That is why I stay there as well'*. He is not entirely satisfied with the area he lives in. He wishes to move to a quieter and greener area. This case deviates from the other participants, who stay in the neighborhood for the spatial proximity to the parents, but are satisfied with living in the respective area and would not want to move elsewhere. Although Umut is not particularly fond of the neighborhood, he still values the apartment he and his mother have been living in since 1984. They made a duplex apartment out of two apartments in the building and hence invested a lot of work, time, and money. The same is true for Sati, whose family also renovated their two

apartments, always said no to luxury renovation, and hence still has a very good rent contract.

Even if people do not live together with their parents, spatial proximity remains of high importance. Aydin, owner of a photo shop, lives in his own apartment only a few meters away from his parents' home. When he moved into his own apartment he put a lot of effort in trying to find a place in close spatial proximity:

I have an own apartment, but in the same street, almost... five buildings apart. I really put a lot of effort in finding an apartment in the same street. It wasn't easy. But I made it.

He visits his parents daily – it is the first destination after leaving from work. When Aydin was in a committed relationship, he and his then wife thought about having children, and wanted to move out to an area with better educational facilities. The couple found an apartment in another neighborhood, everything was set, but after being in the apartment a few times, Aydin realized that he simply was not able to leave 'his' neighborhood, *'I just couldn't'*. Nasir also paid attention to finding an apartment close to his parents, when he moved together with his wife. He lives in walking distance. He and his wife are now parents and want to invest in an own house or apartment – in the same area.

These stories all sound quite nice and seem not to involve any conflict. A not so straightforward story is that of Atalay. He and his wife were initially living with his parents. That, however, did not work out very well, and he felt very constricted and controlled:

It was kind of hard. It had the advantage that my mother was there, that someone took care of the child. But there was a friction from the beginning, I wouldn't recommend it to anyone.

That is why he and his wife moved out to another apartment. However, only a few years later, when apartments in the same building became vacant, his parents and sister moved there as well. Then, again, he was confronted with a lot of social control, also because his office was in the same building, and his mother stopped by a lot. So he

had to find clear words to 'free' him from these visits. Despite these initial difficulties, Aydin still stresses family and community orientation as something highly valuable.

Movers

For movers, family ties play an important role in the residential choice process as well, though in different ways. Although some of the participants who lived with their parents/mother were single (divorced) or had a long-distance relationship, the (spatial) absence of a spouse does not determine the ability or wish to live with or close to one's parents. The parents' influence also works in different ways. Alper and his wife, for example had a very 'easy' choice on where to move to:

We thought, we won't favor neither my parents nor your [wife's] mother. So we pointed on the map, what is in the middle? Tempelhof, exactly. That is the same way from either direction, that's what we wanted, that we live somewhere, where the way to your mom is the same as to my parents. That was the only compromise, only reason.

Hence, it is not just the neighborhood that matters in the residential choice process. What matters is the distance to the parents' neighborhoods. In Alper's case, no one parent should be favored, so the neighborhood in the middle is chosen. The parents thus have a huge influence on the decision where to live. Another 'strategy' recurring in the narratives of both movers and stayers is that when a change of residence was pending, the parents joined in, or followed sooner or later, which was explicitly planned so by the participants. Living with the parents is not some evil that one has to bear. Özcan for example lives in Lankwitz and his parents and brother followed suit. And even Mithat who was and is rather weary of social control by parents, helped his parents find an apartment that is much closer to his own residence. His principle, that *'if my parents call me and say they will stop by for a visit, there has to be at least half an hour until they arrive. I needed to have that much of a distance'* actually shows that, although he wants to avoid being too close, he still does not want to be too far away either.

Another type of strong ties influences residential choice for movers. A commonly cited reason for changing residence is related to moving in together with the spouse, and is

hence related to the stage in the life cycle (Rossi 1980). If the couple lives in different neighborhoods, it is usually the better-resourced neighborhood that is chosen as new address. This is mainly a consequence of already existing networks in the neighborhood, mainly of the spouse. Nedim for example moved from Kreuzberg North to Tempelhof, where his girlfriend was living already. To him, it was an easy decision because Tempelhof was *'better, bigger, cheaper'*.

Selim, although not particularly fond of his new neighborhood, quickly moved to Wilmersdorf because of his wife's existing network in that area:

My wife has been living in Wilmersdorf already, and her sister is there as well and they wanted to be close to their family, because they help each other out. If something is going on, the sister can stop by.

Since the couple was about to have their first child at the time of the move, and Selim is the owner of a café and often away working, the wife's support network was reason enough for Selim to move there. Again, residential choice is influenced by the family network, in this case the extended family, meaning the spouse's parents and sister.

Bedia's reason to move was a combination of social ties and a good financial deal. With her boyfriend, she moved to his grandmother's house. She and her boyfriend take care of the grandmother, do the shopping for her, and in exchange only pay very little rent.

The influence of strong ties on residential choice contradicts much of the literature on the loss of community. The accounts of the participants show that strong ties continue to influence residential choice, even for intra-urban mobility, and even in a city as Berlin where public transportation is not an issue and most areas in the city (and even at the outskirts) are easy to reach. A shortcoming of previous studies, particularly those bemoaning the loss of community, on the influence of social ties may be that they largely focused on white respondents, or on the urban underclasses. Carol Stack (1997) has examined family and kinship networks of African Americans in the U.S., focusing on the underclass, and one particular racial group. With respect to social status, Gans (1962) posits that moving up from a lower class to a more middle class position entails leaving behind a person orientation and becoming more object oriented. To him, the

difference is that members of the lower classes base their subject orientation on only a small circle of people such as family and friends, “which the individual maintains all his life, and which is built into his personality structure” (ibid., 259). Middle class members, in contrast, choose their contacts among a wider circle of people and hence “remain somewhat detached from them, and can even leave them for others without serious feelings of loss” (ibid., 259).

In previous studies, hence, a high importance of family and kinship ties, as well as a focus on the local environment in the organization of daily life, has mostly been attributed to the persons’ or communities’ lower or working class background (cf. Gans 1962; Gestring et al. 2004; Stack 1997). One could hence argue that the family orientation exhibited by the upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans is a remainder of their working class background. Were they ‘truly’ middle class, their subject-orientation would be less pronounced. However, the participants themselves, as described in the chapter on identification, attribute this family (and community) orientation to their Turkish background. That this interpretation may be true, that family orientation may be a cultural influence more than a class influence, becomes obvious when looking at studies of residential choice of highly skilled professionals. Andreotti et al. (2013a; see also Andreotti & Le Galès 2011) were able to show that for managers in the cities of Paris, Milan and Madrid, the parents’ place of residence was highly influential for the managers’ own residential choice. Particularly in the latter two cities, family networks and their spatial anchorage played a major role in residential choice. As the authors find: “a very significant portion of respondents (about a third in the case of Paris, about half in Madrid, and a large majority in Milan) declare to have chosen their area of residence based on family history and physical proximity to close relatives” (Andreotti et al. 2013a, 584). The wish to live close to family members cannot only be attributed to a low social background. In the case of the interviewed managers in Milan, “(i)t was as if the possibility of living elsewhere had not even occurred to them” (Andreotti et al. 2013b, 54). It is thus possible to be mobile, but still be rooted in a place, be that the city or neighborhood, due to family ties.

5.3. Moving out of dissatisfaction with the neighborhood (population)

For movers, another reason for changing address is the wish for a quieter, cleaner and more predictable environment. As the participants are employed full-time, and often work long hours, they value the neighborhood as a place of recreation and relaxation. They want to avoid central-city neighborhoods with their noise, their socioeconomically weak population structure and visible social problems in the streets. Green spaces and spatial proximity to work or the children's school / kindergarten are clear pull factors.

Cevat and his girlfriend have lived in Wedding for a few years, before moving to Wilmersdorf. They were very dissatisfied with the old neighborhood. First of all, they lived at a big crossroad, with a lot of noise, where it always took a few minutes to get from one side of the street to the other. Cevat even made an application to the district council for making the streets a traffic calming zone, only allowing 30km/h. That, however, was not the only dissatisfaction he had:

C: Well, everyone has another idea of, let's say, of how to organize one's free time. That's... yes, stress just happens a bit quicker than in other districts.

I: And you said that your girlfriend stood out there?

C: Yes, she always stands out if she walks around there alone, Blondie, and most people are not really blond. My girlfriend looks really, really German, East-Prussian. Yes. You don't see that much anymore. That's why she didn't like being out alone.

There are two main issues here. Firstly, it is about the social background of the resident population and different notions of how free-time should be spent in the neighborhood. That is, as he explains further, mainly due to a lack of future perspectives for young people. They do not have a job and likely will not get one, and their parents 'do not care' either. Cevat therefore finds a lot of negative potential in the neighborhood, which is why 'stress', meaning confrontations between people, can evolve rather quickly. Secondly, he implicitly refers to the ethnic makeup of the population. He mentions twice that there are not many 'blondes', meaning Germans, in the area, but many Turkish or Arab migrants (the contrast to 'blondes'). That his girlfriend did not feel comfortable walking alone in the streets was another reason to move out of Wedding.

With respect to the lacking future perspectives of many residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods, Lacin says that *'if you have some future perspective, or you have work, and you get older, it becomes unbearable there'*. He even compares his old neighborhood in Wedding to a ghetto, which is why he felt he had to move out. Behcet likewise negatively remembers his time in Wedding, due to the population structure:

I couldn't stand it there very long [laughing]. Not even two years. It was so atrocious there. (...) If you went to a bar, inside, you felt that this wasn't the right clientele. The people have, if you looked them in their eyes, they, they were... absent. It was kind of a drifting away, to wherever, aimless, without orientation. There was no communication, and the manners accordingly bad. That just made me depressed, I had to get out of there again.

Like other participants, Behcet was not able to emotionally distance himself from the resident population. He felt depressed by the lack of contact, the lack of friendliness between the residents, so he had to leave the neighborhood.

The main factor here is the neighborhood's social makeup. Although it often overlaps with ethnic background, the participants stressed lacking future perspectives and as a consequence, a violent potential among young people, and a lethargy of the older ones. From research on residential dispersal programs such as Moving to Opportunity or Hope VI, we know that those people most motivated to move out of high-poverty neighborhoods were those who “used relocation to distance and buffer themselves and their children from the demands and risks” (Briggs et al. 2010, 18) that arose from living in a disadvantaged area.

In contrast to strategies where middle class residents live insulated in gated communities or try to organize the different sphere of live in a way that avoids contact to lower class groups or ethnic minorities (Atkinson 2006), the movers' boundary drawing comes from actual experience with sharing a neighborhood with and regularly encountering these groups. There is no a-priori wish to live in a neighborhood where contact to lower social groups can be avoided. Besides, it seems that small-scale boundary drawing is not possible or not viewed as an appropriate strategy. In contrast to some of the stayers (see below), these movers feel that some residents are different to them, but they cannot symbolically exclude them (cf. Hanhörster & Barwick 2013). Since they continuously feel affected by the presence of these groups, a move out is

the logical consequence. Moving out in these cases is not primarily an issue of securing social reproduction, but of feeling attached to a neighborhood through its residents. Since these movers feel that they cannot connect to most residents, there are no similarities that would help come into contact, they leave the neighborhood. Lacin and Behcet feel much more comfortable in their new neighborhoods, they feel that they share values and attitudes with the residents. This is not the case for Cevat, who now lives in a neighborhood in Wilmersdorf where people live rather secluded, so a move does not always result in higher satisfaction (cf. chapter eight).

What these movers look for in a neighborhood is hence a quieter, more ordered life. Attributes that are positively stressed in characterizations of the present neighborhoods are, correspondingly, green spaces and places for relaxation. Sercan, living in Grunewald, says that *'if I leave the house, it takes me two minutes to get to the lake. If I walk around the lake... I can walk, quiet, can sit down'*.

Mithat and Mahir, two movers, now live just at the border to Berlin, in what is officially a village, but which is still closer to their work places in Neukölln and Tempelhof, respectively, than other socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods in the North or West of Berlin. Mithat, owner of a driving school in Tempelhof, writes in his reply to my interview-request that he now lives in the Berlin *'Speckgürtel'*¹⁵, after an *'attested Berlin-damage'*, implying that he became tired of urban life. During the interview, Mithat stresses that he does like Berlin, and he also liked growing up in Neukölln. He moved out of Neukölln in the course of marriage, and lived with his wife and their three children in Marienfelde, in the South of Berlin. At one point, the apartment became too small and they looked for a new, larger one in Berlin but did not find anything suitable or reasonably priced. By chance, a woman at the driving school told him about a detached house in Gross-Zieten:

I've just seen a photo of the house, of the view and I thought 'Wow, looks like from a postcard'. So I'm basically living in the countryside, one side looks towards the countryside, and I have a free view for five kilometers. No buildings, just trees and grassland. And the other side is house next to house, village. So it's a real, small village.

¹⁵ *Speckgürtel* signifies a neighborhood or village at the outskirts of a city, which are usually characterized by an affluent population

Mahir who also lives in Gross-Zieten more consciously chose this place, because he wanted to live in a village, but at the same time be close to the city, where he still works. To him, driving home after a day of work in his office in Neukölln, means leaving work behind. Whenever he sees the village sign, it makes *‘click – it’s over’*. For him and Mithat, then, the separation between work and family and leisure is spatially expressed. The same is true for Nizami who lives in a garden colony in Charlottenburg. Living in a garden colony is tolerated by the city, but officially not an allowed practice and a garden house cannot be registered as address. This is why Nizami and his wife – the children are grown up and have their own apartments – have a small apartment in the same neighborhood. Nevertheless, they live in their fully furnished and renovated small garden house most of the year.

Again, these movers do not decide to entirely withdraw to quiet neighborhoods and leave city life behind. In contrast, through their daily commute to work, which is in places such as Neukölln or Moabit – urban, lively districts – they are still part of urban life. They do not want to miss out on that, but their home symbolizes the place for relaxation – from work and city life.

Characteristic for these movers is also their age. They are in their late forties, their children are grown up, or are in an age when they are more independent. Spatial proximity to child-related institutions as well as family, kin or friends who can help out with taking care of the children is not a factor anymore that has to be considered for residential choice.

Some of the stayers also feel dissatisfaction with the neighborhood population, but it does not result in a move. Umut complains about the chaos of his neighborhood in Moabit. He finds it striking that the streets are always crowded – even at times when adults should be working or children in school. He also complains about the lethargy and dis-interest of the population – something that resembles the accounts of the movers about their previous neighborhoods:

We see that in the streets. Ten or fifteen years ago, if somebody put a child in the streets, to beg for money, the German residents would have called the police immediately, ‘Oh, it’s so cold, there is a baby in the streets, the mother panhandles’.

Nobody is paying attention nowadays. They are sitting in front of the bank, on the plain stone, just with some paperboard. (...) Collecting money. And nobody reacts. A baby! It's being used to get money. (...) You get used to it, you ignore it.

Umut has also perceived an increase in violent behavior, particularly among young people, and recounts an incident where he actually intervened. He was coming home from sports, taking the bus, when at one stop four or five teenage boys with Arab background went in straight away without letting other passengers get off first. One man on the bus told them that this was not okay. The boys became verbally aggressive immediately, whereupon Umut intervened, telling them that they should stay calm and that the man did not insult them and they should show more respect.

[The boys:] 'Ah, yes, Habibi'¹⁶, and then they immediately call me Habibi. (...) I got off Mainzerstrasse, gave them a hug and said 'Look, guys, if you have my age, you also can't deal with such fights anymore. I'm a very calm person, but within every person is some kind of pit bull. The question is when to let it out. Never try that again. We have to... You have to learn to control your readiness for violence'.

Umut has thus made his own experiences with (potentially) violent incidents in the neighborhood. Among the stayers, his high dissatisfaction with the resident population is unusual, but some of the issues raised by Umut are shared by other stayers as well.

Erol had to move out of Kreuzberg-North in order to appreciate the area again. When he was 24 years old, he moved out of his parents' apartment at Kottbusser Tor (Kreuzberg-North) to a place in Charlottenburg. *'You feel ashamed for growing up at Kotti [Kottbusser Tor]. My first thought was – get out of here'* is what he says about his motive to move. When he grew up, the area was dangerous, and he was not allowed to be out on the streets alone at night. One very influential incident was when Erol himself was attacked in the area:

I was 16, on the way to school in the morning, and I got attacked from three Turks, they broke my jaw. This was one of the big, influential moments in my life, unforgettable. (...) I think they either mistook me for someone else or it was just some kind of test. They were boys, around 30, so no boys. With beards, they just left after that. I was lying in the streets, a bit dizzy and just saw the people passing by, they were all passing by me at Kotti. Adults. I will never forget, a woman with a suitcase, half a meter away, walking past me, without even turning her head towards me.

¹⁶ Habibi is Arabic for 'my beloved' or 'friend / darling'

This incident, as well as other experiences with members of cliques and gangs such as the '36 Boys'¹⁷, made Erol want to move away from this area. Living in a very bourgeois Charlottenburg neighborhood, however, he quickly realized that he was still fond of the place he grew up in. After four years in another neighborhood and district, he moved back to Kreuzberg-North. In retrospect, he says that he moved from one extreme to another. He still finds that there are more social problems in the neighborhood, such as a high presence of Lebanese migrants who are organized in clans, but he also sees the positive changes. The level of violence has decreased significantly, and ethnic diversity is higher. In the end, then, *'the experience [in Charlottenburg] has shown that I do not want to miss out on Kreuzberg'*. In Charlottenburg, for example, the mainly native-German and elderly neighbors soon complained when he had the TV on at ten in the evening. Or a neighbor wrote him a letter, saying that he should pay more attention to recycling when disposing of his trash.

Erol is not alone with the experience of moving out of a disadvantaged neighborhood just to find out that it actually is the neighborhood one wants to live in. Sibel and Mehri likewise had short episodes in other, socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods, but moved back to Wedding and Kreuzberg-North, respectively. What they missed were good relations between residents. Contact between neighbors and with that any form of community life was mostly inexistent. Erol and the others quickly realized that this was one the most important characteristics of their old neighborhood, which is why they eventually moved back (cf. in more detail chapter eight).

Stayers such as Nevcan or Selbi who did not have such episodes of living in other neighborhoods, still perceive problems. Nevcan complains about the dirt in the streets, as do other residents of Wedding and Neukölln. Nursel negatively comments on the visibility of prostitution and an increased number of betting offices. Such problems are mentioned and bemoaned, but they do not have any further consequences. Selbi is well aware of problems connected to drug dealing, but relativizes:

¹⁷ The '36 Boys' was a youth gang with mainly Turkish and Kurdish members, active in Kreuzberg-North. From 1980-1990, they had many violent fights against skinheads about the dominance in the streets (cf. Ukena 2009).

Well, from the outside, [Wedding] is always presented as bad and terrible and dangerous. That's not the case at all. Of course, as I said, there are dealers and there is drug trafficking, etc. But it never affects the Kiez as such. The people who do that, they do it among themselves, and the residents are aware of that, because they see that people deal, but they are never directly approached. As I said, I've been living here since 1985, and they never asked me whether I wanted to buy something.

Selbi knows about the problem of drug trafficking, but claims that it does not affect herself or other residents. In contrast to the described movers as Lacin or Behcet, the problems in the neighborhood do not affect the stayers to the same degree. They are emotionally detached from the problems, or can mask them out in their daily life. As de Swaan points out, “(p)rocesses of identification (.) occur as a restructuring of concerns, of a person's dispositions to be emotionally affected” (de Swaan 1995, 25). The movers were not able, as the stayers are, to restructure their concerns, but still attached “value and emotional significance” (Tajfel 1981, 255; see also Tajfel 1982) to their fellow residents. Their concerns for the neighborhood and fellow residents remained high, which then became the reason to move out.

The residential trajectories of these ‘stayers’ show that satisfaction with and in a neighborhood is not easily defined. They go beyond Hirschman's apparently clear separation of exit, voice and loyalty. Erol and others used exit, but then found out that they actually prefer ‘loyalty’, so they moved back. To capture how ideas of what constitutes a ‘good’, desired neighborhood, change over time and particularly change with a move, we have to track residential trajectories over time. For Erol, Sibel and Mehri, their changing attitudes towards the neighborhood and its residents cannot be attributed to changes in the life cycle, since they moved out and moved back within short periods. It is the experience in another neighborhood, and particularly the different relations between residents, that triggers a new view of the old one.

Interestingly, leaving a disadvantaged neighborhood because one has the means to do so, as a sign of upward social mobility, did not occur for the participants. Some of the movers connected their move to investing in an own house or apartment. Such an in-

vestment, however, did not come up as the prime reason to move out. The movers who bought their own house are at the same time those with children. For their neighborhood choice, good educational facilities were the most important neighborhood characteristic (see next part), only after that was the neighborhood considered as a place for investment. Leaving aside investment, the 'aesthetical' issue of wanting to live in a nice house or apartment, did not come up either. Particularly in gentrification literature, a certain aesthetic is often part of the story of people's neighborhood and housing choices. Bridge (2006a; 2006b) has shown how families in Bristol, moving from a gentrified inner-city to a non-gentrified one (due mainly to the better educational opportunities for the children), struggled with their wish for a certain gentrification aesthetic in housing, such as old Victorian houses with a "lick of paint in a certain shade, and the gradual restoring of sash windows, stripping floors" (Bridge 2006b, 723), which they did not find in the new, more suburban neighborhoods. For the Turkish-German movers, there were no regrets of leaving an apartment that they liked, and finding an aesthetically nice one did not come up as a major factor in the housing search. Although some point out their high satisfaction with the current dwelling, it did not markedly influence the residential choice process.

What does play an important role, at least for those participants with young children, is the neighborhoods' provision of good schools – the topic of the next part and a topic that figures prominently in current international urban studies.

5.4. The neighborhood as a place for reproduction: the importance of the educational landscape

David Harvey stated more than forty years ago that the city is a highly localized system, in which "most of the resources we make use of (...) are not ubiquitous and their availability, therefore, depends upon accessibility and proximity" (1973, 68f.). Whether or not certain amenities are present in a neighborhood, and thus in spatial proximity, can have an effect on people's life chances. Typical neighborhood amenities, besides housing, are kindergartens, schools and other child care facilities, employment possibilities, and public services such as hospitals, doctors, etc. "These associated

neighborhood amenities are area-based opportunities that may influence the quality of life for neighborhood residents and, at the same time, may affect their opportunities for socioeconomic mobility” (Rossi & Shlay 1982, 27).

If the school system is organized around catchment areas, meaning that the child is allocated to the closest primary school, as is the case in Berlin, a neighborhood’s provision of ‘good’ schools becomes a very important factor influencing residential choice. Since a good education for one’s children is the main means of ensuring social reproduction, particularly for the middle classes, the question of finding a good school is as important as the choice of a neighborhood.

In contemporary cities with their ‘super-diversity’, and increased economic competition (Ball 2003; Sassen 2001; Vogel 2009), middle class households are under pressure since retaining one’s middle class status and transmitting it to the next generation is no longer as self-evident as it has been. Hence, middle class members try to avoid contact to unwanted groups, such as those from minority ethnic backgrounds and from lower social strata, two dimensions that often overlap.

Research in Great Britain, but also in Germany and other European cities, shows that the white middle classes find ways to pool their social capital and through diverse strategies secure a good education for their children – even in a neighborhood that is not as advantaged, or that is also home to other, unwanted groups, such as poorer and/or migrant households (Atkinson 2006; Butler 2003; Butler & Robson 2001; Maloutas 2007; Noreisch 2007a; Raveaud & van Zanten 2007). For social reproduction, particularly in times when the ‘automatic’ passing of status is not secured anymore (Butler & Robson 2003, 164; Vincent & Ball 2007, 1074), investment in children’s education is crucial for them to retain the middle class status.

Mostly absent from the discussions are ethnic minority middle classes. An exception is Butler and Hamnett’s study of residential and educational decisions of East Londoners (2011). Most studies, however, broadly focus on white middle classes and their school choices. This is certainly a shortcoming, not least because it misses out on explaining how the discourse on class deployed by the white middle classes “might be a *racialized* as much as a classed desire” (Byrne 2009, italics in original). Recalling Butler and

Hamnett's definition of the new middle class, namely that they are not yet established on their career trajectories, there is no reason to believe that the issue of school choice is of any less importance for upwardly mobile ethnic minority groups than it is for the white middle classes. If there should be any difference at all, it would make sense that the strategy might be of even more importance to ethnic minority groups, because of their fragile socioeconomic status. For social climbers, choosing the right neighborhood – with a good school - is just one part of a “wider strategy of upward social mobility” (Butler & Hamnett, 2011, 101).

Schooling in Germany and Berlin

In Germany, the school landscape has been restructured in recent years. The system in which children have four years of primary school and are subsequently – according to their grades – channeled into one of three school types, *Hauptschule* (five more years), *Realschule* (six more years), or the *Gymnasium* (nine more years, only school that grants the permission to continue with studies), is more and more abandoned, not least after the first Pisa shock in the year 2000, and the attested inscription of inequalities in three-tiered system (OECD 2011 ch.9). Particularly the abolition of the much stigmatized *Hauptschule* was an important step that has been followed in all German *Länder*. The focus is on a more just system that does not separate children after only four years of schooling.

In Germany, education is an affair of the *Bundesländer*. In Berlin, the primary school lasts four to six years. After these years, students either go to the Gymnasium, or to the integrated secondary school. What subsequent school the child is sent to mainly depends on the grades in primary school. Based on these, the teacher makes a recommendation for the secondary school. Still, the parents have the last word in the decision, the recommendation is not binding. Depending though on available places, basically all children can be sent to a Gymnasium, but there is a selection after six months – if a child does not pass, it is sent to an integrated secondary school. As in the other German federal states, the selection effect of the primary school continues to

exist. Securing a good primary education for the child is, consequently, the most important step for ensuring all educational possibilities and success later in life.

However, in contrast to for example the UK or Netherlands, where the element of choice is more important than in the German system (although for a criticism of 'choice' in the British system, cf: Reay & Lucey 2003), parents in Berlin cannot choose a school for their child. Nor is the education landscape very 'marketized' (yet) (Clausen 2006), meaning that there are not many private schools so that parents could 'buy out' of local state schools. In contrast, as written in the school law, the child is allocated to a primary school by the catchment area system. There is, thus, not much choice for the parents. According to the rules, the nearest school is the one the child should attend. Only if the parents can demonstrate one of the three following cases, they might have a chance to send the child to another school: (1) the child already has a sibling in another school, (2) the parents seek a school with a particular pedagogical concept / a school offering certain languages, or (3) if the visit of another school would make the care for the child considerably easier for the parents, mainly due to job-related reasons¹⁸.

Schools with a particular pedagogical or language concept are for example the Europe schools, Montessori and Waldorf schools. Europe schools are special schools with a bilingual focus (English, Spanish, French, Turkish, Russian...). They are state schools, and do not require any fees. Waldorf and Montessori schools are following a certain pedagogy concept. They are not private, but the parents – according to their means – have to pay some monthly fee.

There are no school rankings in Germany, but it is well known that the school situation in the socioeconomically weak areas in Berlin and other larger cities is less than ideal – which is why parents with high educational aspirations send their children to schools outside these areas (Flitner, 2004; Noreisch, 2007a).

Moving out of a neighborhood is certainly the most costly strategy. Preliminary research and calculations by Förste (2013) have shown that more German than ethnic minority parents follow this strategy. In the Northern part of Kreuzberg, a typical

¹⁸<http://gesetze.berlin.de/default.aspx?vpath=bibdata%2Fges%2FBlnSchulG%2Fcont%2FBlnSchulG%2EP55a%2Ehtm>

immigrant neighborhood, net out-migration of children younger than six is higher compared to the overall out-migration. In addition, the share of native-German children decreased from 29 percent in 2007 to 22.6 percent in 2013 – an indication of an ethnically imbalanced out-migration (ibid., 13).

Nevertheless, data on intra-urban movement (cf. chapter three) show that Turkish migrants also move from socioeconomically disadvantaged to more advantaged districts. Despite the limitations of the data, it might be an indication that upward social mobility goes together with a move outwards.

5.4.1. Moving to find a good school¹⁹

Push factor school: situation in the old neighborhood

As pointed out already, the main reason for a person with children to move out of a disadvantaged neighborhood is their belief that they need to ensure a good education for their children. This often involves more than a good school, and begins with the ‘right’ kindergarten. Next to educational facilities, what people are looking for is a general good and secure environment for raising children – where parents do not have to worry that their children face violence, or come into contact with other young people who might make them do dangerous things.

Thoughts about where to raise children come into play at a very early stage in the life course. For Varol and his wife, the residential choice was based on where to find good schooling – even before they had children.

Well, a very important aspect [for moving] was our family planning. We knew that we wanted to have kids, so we wanted to move to a neighborhood where the kids can go to a school with not so many migrant children, because of the language. That was clearly in the foreground. (...) And, uhm, it is only... only because of the school... if we hadn't planned to have children, I think we would have stayed in Wedding.

Although Varol was very happy in the neighborhood where he has lived since his childhood, he moved out with the only reason to live in a neighborhood that offered

¹⁹This part is based on the accounts of those participants who have children, unless indicated otherwise

good schools, defined as one with a low share of migrants (which is also a reason for German parents to avoid the catchment area school, see Noreisch 2007b: 1317).

Enginalp, who has one son, and wants to invest everything in his only child, likewise moved because of the school situation, but also evaluated the wider environment. He is convinced that in his previous neighborhood in Neukölln, his son would not have the possibility to develop his own personality. Instead, 'the boys' – young Turkish migrants - would take him under their wings:

He would be under pressure to behave like the others. I don't want that. [Imitates Turkish accent] 'You gotta be a real Turk, your Turkish has to be better, you gotta do this, you gotta do that'. No. I don't want that.

The presence of other migrants, notably Turkish migrants, in the school and the neighborhood at large, is a push factor to move to another neighborhood. In addition to the fear of negative peer group influence on his son, Enginalp also considers the general level of security in the neighborhood:

If you have family and you want quiet, recreational value and you want to see how your boy grows up, he can cross the street, go to his friends, without me being afraid because of the traffic. Here [Neukölln] I would get a nervous breakdown if he went to school every day.

Dalim and his family have returned to Berlin from Hamburg. As Dalim had fond memories of the neighborhood in the North of Wedding, where he grew up and spent a large part of his twenties in, he thought about returning there with his family. Since his two daughters were in school age at the time of the move, the family paid particular attention to the quality of schools in the area. It was Dalim's primary school teacher whom he consulted to inquire about the school situation, who told him not to move back to Wedding:

When we moved from Hamburg to Berlin, I actually called my old teacher and said 'Uwe, listen, how is it? (...) we have children, do you have some advice, how is it in your area with schools?'. And then he said 'Oh Lord, if you can, stay away from your old primary school!'.

In contrast to these examples of people who moved out in order to avoid any possible problems, there are those who first tried to raise their child(ren) in the

socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood. They were happy with their living situation and wanted their children to grow up there – although they were well aware of the potential problems that could arise. Sercan recalls the situation in a Neukölln kindergarten:

I: But the kids were in the kindergarten in Neukölln?

Sercan: Yes, we wanted to try that. And we have seen ourselves what happens there. And that's why we said 'no'. We moved to Grunewald. There were kids in Neukölln, they didn't even speak German, in the kindergarten.

But it was not only the high share of migrants and the poor language skills of his children's peers that bothered Sercan. He was also concerned about insufficient supervision by kindergarten teachers:

When they were in the kindergarten, and you can say we were crazy, but we went there often, drove by, just to see whether anything was happening there.

His caution and suspicion came because his son had an accident in the kindergarten where he fell down 3 meters from a scaffold and nobody noticed it. It was only at home when he complained about headaches that the accident was revealed.

Other parents had similar concerns, and talked about how, for example, some older kids came to the son's school and played around with knives.

Basari not only had his son in a kindergarten in Wedding, but also in first and second grade. The family then decided to move to Pankow, not least because of the better educational facilities there:

Well, in areas with a high unemployment rate, educational attainment is not very high, because... for good education, you need money, and the neighborhood doesn't have any. And the parents cannot support their kids to the extent they would like to.

Basari, moreover, feels that the teachers in Pankow are more serious, as are the parents. The parents actually go to the parent-teacher meetings, they observe what the teachers are doing and if they have anything to criticize, they do so.

For families, then, finding a good kindergarten, a good school, and a generally secure environment for the growing up of their children were the main reason for moving out

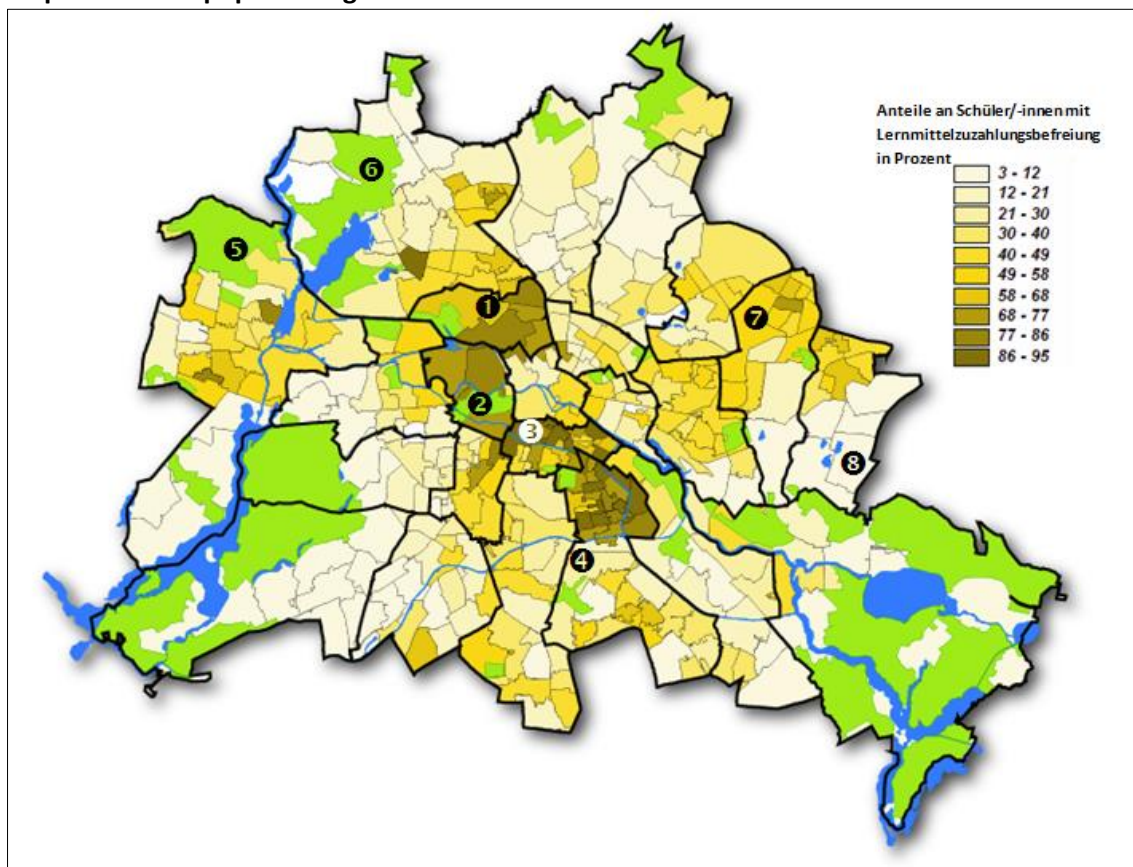
of a disadvantaged neighborhood. We can differentiate here between people who moved out to be on the safe side – they moved while in the stage of family planning or when the children were still very young, before they entered any educational facilities, and those who gave the educational institutions a try, and then became dissatisfied so that a move was the only possibility. What they have in common is that finding a good educational environment for one's children was the most important, if not only reason to move. The original neighborhoods are indeed disadvantaged and social problems are visible in daily life, but the participants nevertheless felt comfortable and at home there. The decision to move does not result out of dissatisfaction with the neighborhood per se, but with its educational facilities. The participants felt that they *had* to move out and there was no alternative route to that, which is why the '*room for maneuver*' (Chambers 1991) was rather limited. For the Turkish-Germans, their own experiences and their fears of what might happen when the children are raised in the disadvantaged neighborhood, makes moving the only viable possibility. There is no flexibility of other ways to achieve a good education and secure a good upbringing of the children, at least not as long as the parents want to send their children to a state school and not to a private one (cf. 5.4.2.).

The strategy of moving contrasts with strategies found for white middle class parents, who rather try to pool their social capital to influence local schools or to avoid catchment areas (Butler 2003; Butler & Hamnett 2011; Noreisch 2007a). The parents described in these studies use *voice* in contrast to the Turkish-Germans who opt for the *exit*-strategy (Hirschman 1970). The reason to exit, as the process of choice of a new neighborhood, is particularistic, not based on a universalistic dissatisfaction with the neighborhood. It is crucial to note and understand that the educational facilities are chosen, *not* the neighborhood. As we will see later, this has important implications for social and ethnic mix. In the next part, we will hence see what the participants define as a good school, and how they find it.

Pull factor school: what and where is a good school?

As hinted at before, a good school is first and foremost one with a low share of ethnic minorities. The ethnic composition of the school is more often cited than for example its social composition, although the two indicators are sometimes used interchangeably. There are no official school statistics in Germany, but the following two maps show the overlap of the just mentioned factors. Map 3 shows an indicator of social status, namely the share of pupils who are entitled to receive free school material.

Map 3: Share of pupils who get free school material



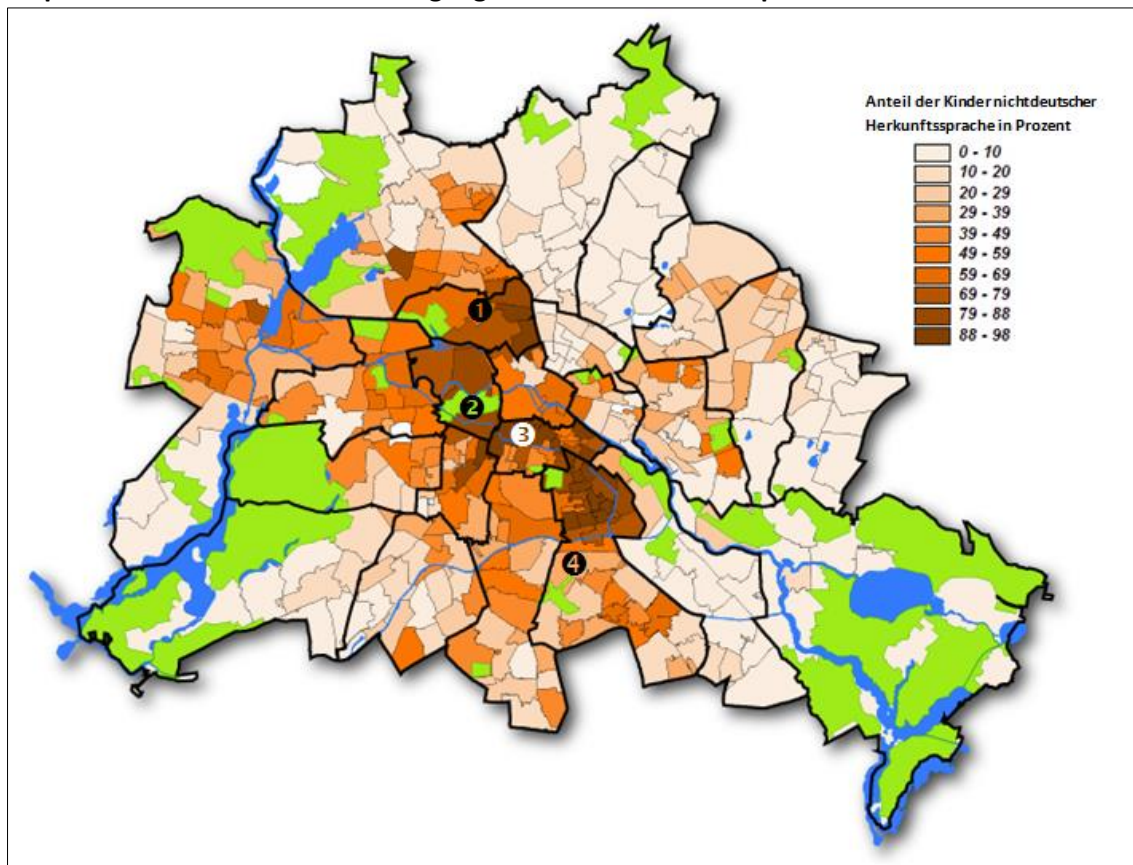
Source: Müller 2010, the numbers indicate (sub-)districts: 1= Wedding, 2 = Tiergarten, 3 = Kreuzberg, 4 = Neukölln, 5 = Spandau, 6 = Reinickendorf, 7 = Marzahn-Nord, 8 = Hellersdorf-Nord

Usually, learn material is provided by the school but the parents have to contribute with a certain amount every school year. Parents who receive welfare payments are freed from this contribution. The second map reflects the share of pupils in the different LORs who speak a language other than German at home. In the school year

2011/12, 33,8% of pupils spoke a language other than German at home, and 33,1% of pupils qualified for free school material. For 19.7% of all pupils, both factors applied²⁰

For the two maps, the darker the color the higher is the share of the two measures of disadvantage. As with previously presented maps on status indicators, we see again that the inner-city areas of Mitte (Wedding, Tiergarten), Kreuzberg and Neukölln are particularly disadvantaged. In contrast, areas in the Western part of Berlin – including the neighborhoods considered by the Turkish-Germans - have lower shares of pupils who get free school material and / or speak a language at home that is not German.

Map 4: Share of children with a language other than German spoken at home



Source: Müller 2010; 1= Wedding, 2 = Tiergarten, 3 = Kreuzberg, 4 = Neukölln

For disadvantaged areas, research has shown that (native-German) parents try to circumvent the local school, by moving out, registering the child in another school district, or by influencing the local school. The last strategy has led to some media

²⁰ http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-bildung/bildungsstatistik/blickpunkt_schule_2011_12.pdf?start&ts=1329729903&file=blickpunkt_schule_2011_12.pdf

awareness. In one case native-German parents succeeded in having the head master set up the classes so that their German children were together in one class, segregated from the children with a Turkish or other ethnic minority background (Schmitz 2012b). In another case, native-German parents set up a new parents council, instead of joining the already-existing one – with mainly Turkish parents (Lehmann 2014).

The participants focus their neighborhood - respective school - choice on the districts in Berlin's Western part. Except for Basari who moved to Pankow, the radius of school choice is focused on about four (official) districts which, in the participants' eyes, provide good schools, as Alkalin's choice process shows:

I: So how exactly did you then choose Wilmersdorf?

A: Well, we only considered certain neighborhoods. We wanted to have a more middle class neighborhood. That's why we said, Wilmersdorf, that was a good possibility.

In contrast to Alkalin who stresses the social class aspect of the neighborhood and hence also school, Sercan explicitly links quality of schooling to the share of migrants:

We looked for example also... Steglitz, Zehlendorf, in this area. It was also about the share... share of foreigners, that there are fewer foreigners.

Varol likewise explicitly refers to the low share of migrants in the school which is for him the success-indicator per se:

I: And in the school, how is the share of...

V: ... very low, I would say, maybe, less than ten percent. Clearly less than ten percent, I guess. In his [son] grade, for example, 25 students, and there are only 4 kids [with migration background], and many of them are from different countries, not from Turkey, but South America, or many from France.

It is interesting to note the difference made between Turkish (or Arab) migrants and migrants from European countries, the U.S., or South America. This is clearly linked to social status. An ethnic mix is sought in a school, as long as this mix consists of children from countries that send highly-skilled migrants, often diplomats, managers, or people working at other international organizations.

Nevertheless, we have to be careful to overemphasize the apparently clear boundaries to other migrants, particularly from the own ethnic group. These boundaries result not necessarily from an aversion against (lower class) fellow ethnics, but from a worry

about language skills, which again results from the participants' own experiences in (German) schools. The Turkish-Germans are now successful in their jobs, but to get there was a struggle, and they often had a hard time 'surviving' in school, a narrative that often came up in the interview and was discussed very emotionally (cf. chapter three). Mostly, their parents came to Germany as guest workers with absent or very limited German language skills and were hardly able to support their children in school. Most participants know what it is to be excluded because of the language, and what it means to teach themselves the German language. Varol's story illustrates the experience of other Turkish-Germans, which also helps us understand the strict focus on the share of ethnic minorities in schools:

When I... when we came to Germany, my school enrolment was 1977, without kindergarten, I didn't know any German, not one word. And they put us in the so-called foreigners'-class. (...) But for us, it was really the Turks-class, and that was the label. (...) We had one German class at the school, and during the six years of primary school, only three fellows from my class, got to go German class. (...) It was also grueling, when other kids were happy about a good grade in a test, and I was always at the bottom of the stack. And at one point, I knew, if the tests were returned, that yours is not on top, not in the middle, but on the bottom.

A low share of Turkish migrants in the school is hence not a sign of disliking lower class ethnic fellows. It results from own experiences, and what the participants want to ensure is that their children have good language skills, which they see as the key to success in life.

Selim, who has moved out of Kreuzberg-North to his wife's neighborhood in Wilmersdorf, is also happy that his son does not need to visit a kindergarten and school in his old neighborhood. For him, it is not about language, but about issues of social conduct. He makes the connection between lower status and different styles of upbringing and education, which most other participants only do implicitly:

[The kindergarten] is nice. (...) I don't know how I would like it [if my child were in a kindergarten in Kreuzberg]. I would certainly worry if my child was very aggressive, because it hangs out with the kids there. I mean, there are mostly socially weak families who are... you feel that they have a different style with their kids, and the kids reflect that. And that again would reflect on your own child. So yes, I think I would worry there.

At first sight, then, it seems as if the respondents have made a good catch with their residential choice. However, living in a neighborhood is not only about the children's facilities and good schools, and this is where we get to the consequences of a move that occurs due to securing a good education for children. The problem with good schooling as the single most important reason, knowledge in the residential choice process about schools but not the neighborhood, and an otherwise high satisfaction with life in the old (disadvantaged) neighborhood produces a dilemma for people. Savage et al. (2005, 68f.) sum up the compromises that people in that situation have to make. In their study of different Manchester neighborhoods and residents' belonging to it, some respondents face a similar situation: „These parents with high stocks of cultural capital are faced with a dilemma, whether to live in a diverse area, or to move somewhere with 'better' educational provision. Their political and moral values are challenged by a need to make the 'best' educational choice for their child. (...) the fit between habitus and residential location is under stress as they try and reconcile competing and sometimes contradictory values". Moreover, the problem with a particularistic neighborhood choice based on schooling is that there may be good information about the school situation, but at the same time, a general ignorance of the new neighborhood and what living there is like. All this has important consequences for the development of ties in a new neighborhood and place attachment – the topics of chapter seven and eight.

5.4.2. Staying in the neighborhood, sending the kids elsewhere

The stayers with children did not remain in the disadvantaged neighborhood because they had no aspirations for their children. Just as the movers they want their children to succeed in school and hence had to find other ways for securing good schooling.

One way to do this is by sending the children to a private school, usually outside the neighborhood. What parents and children had to put up with in exchange was long commutes for the children and a more planned and organized daily life. Ozanay sums up his decision and the advantages of sending his two children to private schools:

I: So why did you send your children to a private school?

O: Why? Good question. I wanted... I know many, they go to a school in Kreuzberg, public school. Disaster. The first and second years of schooling are particularly important. And, private schooling is expensive but it advances a lot. Just last week... my son, fifth grade, I never heard him talk in English before. Didn't hear anything before, but he speaks English fluently.

I: In fifth grade already?

O: In fifth grade. And he is learning Spanish now. Elective course. (...) Which means that when he has finished primary school, he speaks German, English, a bit of Spanish, a bit of Turkish.

Meanwhile, however, Ozanay and his wife – both have full-time jobs – cannot cope with the stress anymore to bring the children to school and pick them up every day. So they want to move to a neighborhood that is much closer to the school.

Sibel has a similar story to tell. She sent her three children – all of whom are grown-up now and go to university, one in the United States, one in Turkey, and one in Cambridge – to schools outside the neighborhood. When her youngest daughter entered school, the family, including her parents, decided to move to Zehlendorf where the school was. The effort of taking the daughter there every day was just getting too strenuous. After five years in Zehlendorf, the family decided to move back to their old neighborhood in Wedding. The compromise – leaving a neighborhood where they all felt comfortable in order to being closer to the school – did not pay off.

We moved, had a house for the family with garden, it was nice. But my daughter wasn't comfortable there, she didn't find other kids. So we were there five years, my parents wanted to move back as well, so we came back.

In Zehlendorf, neither Sibel herself nor her daughter found access to the mostly native-German neighbors or fellow students:

There are for example no neighbors, I mean we did have neighbors, but they only said 'Hello', that's it. And there were very few children, for my daughter, too. She went to the ballet (...), we did have a ballet school next to our house, but she had difficulties fitting in. We were in Zehlendorf in 2000, twelve years ago, that wasn't ideal. It is sad. It's different there.

The way of circumventing catchment area by sending the children to private schools or registering the child at another place of residence has been documented for European

cities such as London, Paris, or Athens (Butler & Hamnett 2011; Maloutas 2007; Raveaud & van Zanten 2007; van Zanten 2001). It is slowly also assessed in the German context (Noreisch 2007a, 2007b). The 'shopping for addresses' – registering the child at another place of residence is what Nedim did. When he was still living in Kreuzberg-North, his son went to a Turkish-German school in the area. After a few years, Nedim and his wife wanted to send him to a better school, mainly because they felt that his peers mostly came from socioeconomically weak families and they did not like the influence they had on their son. They registered him as living with his grandparents in Schöneberg-South, where he went to a school that provided better quality and had students from a higher social background.

Only Hatira and Tekay sent their children to local schools, albeit not without using some strategic moves. Tekay did what more and more parents do in Berlin nowadays – she and some of the parents she knew from her son's kindergarten group teamed up and made sure that their children went to the same school and same class:

I had consciously chosen a school, which was actually not the school in our catchment area [but still within the disadvantaged area]. But the school still accepted my son in this class, because we jointly had ten kids from the kindergarten who went to that school. And so this group got enrolled together, that was very convenient.

What Tekay liked about the school was the ethnic mix – children with migration background, and many children with 'mixed' parents. Tekay says that there were still problems that you expect from a school in a disadvantaged area. But she was nevertheless very satisfied. For a period, she was active as parent representative, but claims that she did not put too much effort in it, also because she was a single mom, working full-time. Again, that the particular class did turn out to be successful is attributed to the fact *'that this class – those were twenty children – and ten were simply parents that I knew, and I knew the children from very young age, that's of course a very different constellation'*.

Hatira is the only non-chooser among the parents in this study, who sent her two sons to the assigned local school. However, she is not entirely satisfied there and hence shows a lot of parental involvement. She worries a lot about whether the education

the sons get there will be enough so that they can go to college and university later in life. Particularly the prospect of studying is very important to her, mainly because she regrets that when she had the chance to do the A-levels and then go to college, she did not take that chance but decided to start job training. Hatira who is very fond of her Kreuzberg-North neighborhood sees the school as the only disadvantage:

H: Well, okay, my children go to school in Kreuzberg and now, I am not sure whether a school in another neighborhood would be better, because of the language and... I don't know...

I: You mean there are a lot...

H: Yes, a high share of Turkish kids, and that is why I am a bit afraid with the language. But we will see. I also taught myself the language; I only started to really speak German when I was 17. My kids speak German very well already, but I am just not sure whether it is enough for later, for the studies. I hope they study.

We see here that Hatira is worried, but at the same time she knows from her own experience that she muddled through school, only learnt German very late in life, and she made it. Besides, Hatira is very much involved in her children's education. She even quit her work for a while in order to be able to care more for the boys. In contrast to most other parents whose 'involvement' consists in sending their child to a good school, Hatira is widely involved in school matters. She is the parents' representative and in that function also part of bi-monthly meetings with the school's director and teachers. An issue that she addressed, for example, was Islamic religious classes. Hatira, who rejects religious practices, does not want her children to be influenced by more religious children in school. Some of the fellow students already told their sons that it is not okay for them to eat gummy bears. Gummy bears contain gelatin, which is made of animal by-products, among others from pork, which practicing Muslims are not allowed to eat. Hatira is entirely against such religious rules and tries to protect her children by being active against a too traditionalist Islam education in school.

Within my sample, Hatira is an exception in that she sends her children to the local school. Nevertheless, her worries, weighing advantages and disadvantages, and her subsequent involvement in the school affairs, corresponds to parents discussed in other research who also opted for the local school, but not without hesitation and

involvement (Butler & Robson 2001; Reay & Lucey 2003; Reay et al. 2007; Raveaud & van Zanten 2007).

5.5. Discussion

The factors influencing the decision to move or stay are, as we have seen, very diverse. Thereby, commonly cited reasons in mobility models to that influences residential choice, such as changes in the neighborhood (population), or changes in the life cycle so that the apartment becomes too small were hardly mentioned.

What plays an important role, for stayers and movers alike, is a high family orientation. Stayers, particularly if they live together with a parent, respect the parent's wish to stay in a socioeconomically weak neighborhood. For movers, the high family orientation may complicate the residential choice process, because spatial proximity to the parents is an important factor and cannot be neglected.

Dissatisfaction with the neighborhood is a reason for moving out. Here, the socioeconomic status of the place of residence plays a role, since the population that lacks future perspectives and that is more violent or loud, are cited as reasons for dissatisfaction.

For the participants with young children in the household, the lack of high-quality educational institutions is a major reason for leaving a socioeconomically weak neighborhood, often despite an overall satisfaction with life in that neighborhood. These movers look for neighborhoods that provide good schools, of which the indicator is primarily a low share of ethnic minority students. The stayers also have educational ambitions for their children, but secure a good education in other ways, such as sending them to a private school or influencing the local school by parental involvement.

The prevalent mobility and choice models described at the outset posit that people have certain preferences, paired with available resources and constraints. If they find that their neighborhood does not fit their preference, they can act by moving out, changing something about their house or neighborhood, or stay but hoping that

something will change in the future. These strategies of exit, voice and loyalty, however, do not entirely capture the residential choice process of the Turkish-Germans. One might argue – and it has been argued – that family orientation is a constraint that may hinder a person acting according to her preferences (Gestring et al. 2004; Logan & Spitze 1994). That, however, is not an appropriate explanation, because family relations are highly valued. Living with or close to family members is more of a preference and less of a constraint on choice.

Such *values*, which exist irrespective of the neighborhood, rarely find a place in mobility models. These models are mostly based on notions of instrumental-rational (*zweckrational*) actions, not on value-rational (*wertrational*) actions (Weber 1978; cf. also Blokland 2003b, 64ff.). For some people such as Umut, the reason to stay is his family orientation, which he claims is a cultural value he shares with other Turkish migrants. His and other participants' decision to stay in a socioeconomically weak neighborhood because the parent wants to stay there, is an example of value-rational action, which they make "regardless of possible cost to themselves", but they "act to put into practice their convictions of what seems to them to be required by duty, honor, (...) personal loyalty, or the importance of some "cause" no matter in what it consists" (Weber 1978, 25). There are no considerations of exit, voice, or loyalty to the neighborhood, because it is not the neighborhood that matters in the decision. It may – and does – matter for the consequences such as place attachment, as we will see throughout the next chapters.

That the mobility models are not entirely fruitful becomes even clearer when we think of the example of Alper who moved to a neighborhood based on its place exactly in the middle between his own and his wife's parents' neighborhoods. They moved there because they did not want to offend one or the other parents by differences in spatial proximity. The mobility models which take on an instrumental-rational viewpoint, might view such a choice as rather "irrational" (ibid., 26), because it is not based on features of the neighborhood itself, on whether or not it will satisfy the person's or household's aspiration level.

Nevertheless, the residential choice process is not *either* instrumental-rational *or* value-rational. More than in the presented mobility models, we should think of residential choice as influenced by rationalities that can be more or less instrumental and more or less based on value considerations. There is a continuum between instrumental-rational and value-rational, which should be reflected when researching motives for residential choice.

When family relations influence residential choice, or when educational facilities are at the forefront, the choice is thus not so much about the neighborhood per se. Preferences about a neighborhood do not necessarily come into play at the stage of neighborhood choice, but rather later when it comes to practical neighborhood use and place attachment (cf. chapter eight).

After having learned in the preceding chapters about the Turkish-Germans' identifications and the main reasons they stay in or move out of a socioeconomically weak neighborhood, we will now turn to the organization of daily social life in and outside these neighborhoods. The main focus is on the relevance of place, thus whether or not the own neighborhood plays a particular role in daily life, and why it does or does not. This will be assessed in the next three chapters with the examples of social capital, networks, and symbolic neighborhood use.

Chapter six: Social capital

I: So have you been active on issues concerning Turkish migrants?

Özcan: All the time. There is the professional organization, those are Turkish entrepreneurs. Or the soccer club, for Turkish players. Or, here in Kreuzberg (golf club), 90% of those who participate are Turkish kids. (Özcan, mover)

In the following chapter I will deal with the provision of resources, tied to the question of community and the relevance of place. We will look at whether and to whom Turkish-Germans make their own resources available. This ties in to research on social capital as well as collective efficacy. The discussion and theoretical debate around social capital is abundant, and it is impossible to give a complete account on the various theoretical conceptions and their respective critiques. Rather, I will give a short overview of *some* definitions, highlighting important dimensions that I consider valuable for the following analysis of the Turkish-Germans' own involvement, and hence contribution to social capital.

6.1. Theories of social capital

According to Bourdieu (1986, 248), social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”. Social capital is thus not a resource in itself, but it is a way of accessing resources, through relations with other people (cf. also Portes 1998: 5). This kind of capital is relational, and can only be activated through another person (cf. also Coleman 1988). The quality and quantity of a person's social capital are the result of the person's position in social space (Bourdieu 1986), meaning that people in higher positions, who also have higher economic and cultural capital, usually possess more social capital that they can access when needed. For example, they may have a network comprised of people with different professions such as lawyers or doctor's, whom they may ask for advice when needed, or of more people with knowledge about jobs, housing, good educational facilities etc. Building up a 'stock' of social capital is a form of investment, because potentially benefitting contacts have to be maintained. They depend on reciprocity, and a person may do a favour to another person, with the prospect that this favour will

be returned at one point in the future (Bourdieu 1980). Since favors or reciprocity can extend over a long period of time, trust is a requirement for the relationships between people, and you only invest and keep up relations with those who are likely to reciprocate (Ostrom & Ahn 2003; Portes 1998).

Coleman (1988) points out three dimensions that make up social capital: (1) obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness, (2) information channels, and (3) norms and effective sanctions. To illustrate these, he uses the example of the tightly knit Jewish community of diamond traders in New York. Because the community is so tightly knit, and the traders are not only connected through work, but also through belonging to the same family, the same local community, and the same religious congregation, there is an insurance against transgression: "The strength of these ties makes possible transactions in which trustworthiness is taken for granted and trade can occur with ease. In the absence of these ties, elaborate and expensive bonding and insurance devices would be necessary" (Coleman 1988, 99).

For relationships through which social capital can be provided and accessed, Granovetter pointed to the distinction between strong ties and weak ties. He observed, for example, that it is mainly weak ties that help a person get a job or otherwise help in providing opportunities for (upward) mobility. That is because "(t)hose to whom we are weakly tied are more likely to move in circles different from our own and will thus have access to information different from that which we receive" (Granovetter 1973, 1371). Strong ties, in contrast, usually cover a much smaller circle of people, who are mostly socially similar and move within similar circles. Particular valuable forms of weak ties are the so-called bridges, "a line in a network which provides the only path between two points" (ibid., 1364). So if A knows B, and B knows C, but A does not, the bridge B to C is the only one that exists. This is different from a closed triad, which would present a case of strong ties. In a similar vein, Burt (1995) developed the notion of structural holes, claiming that dense networks can actually be a hindrance to social mobility. The reason is that dense networks often only repeat information, much of which is not useful anymore, and do not add new information. In contrast, weaker ties

more often function as a source of new knowledge and resources. A network made up of mainly weak ties is hence a “nonredundant” one (ibid., 17).

Briggs (1998) uses the distinction between ties to get by and ties to get ahead. The latter one is essentially about access to information and opportunities that have the potential to improve a person’s socioeconomic standing. Social capital to get by is more focused on support in daily life, and is particularly important for people from the lower social strata, “as it routinely substitutes for things that money would otherwise buy” (ibid., 178). Another form of support falling into this category is of emotional nature. For their function, particularly to provide useful information, “strong ties sustain solidarity, trust, and commitment while circulating a good deal of redundant information. Weak ties break more easily, but also transmit distant information more efficiently” (Tilly 2005, 77).

Going beyond the notion of social capital as something that individuals possess, Putnam’s definition claims that social capital exists in communities, such as neighborhoods or cities, and even nations. For Putnam (1993, 2), ““social capital” refers to features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. In communities characterized by these features, it is easier to work together for the common good. Signs of a well-functioning community are high levels of civic engagement and participation (cf. also Portes 1998). In relation to the place of residence, Putnam (1993, 7) claims that “of two identical youths, the one unfortunate enough to live in a neighborhood whose social capital has eroded is more likely to end up hooked, booked, or dead”. Someone with low individual social capital in Bourdieu’s sense can, according to Putnam, still be well off in a neighborhood that displays high levels of social capital. Since a community’s social capital is reflected in low levels of social crime or good economic development, the neighborhood a person grows up and lives in affects life chances. Using Putnam’s example of social capital within a neighborhood brings us to another concept that tries to capture the influence of living in a certain place on different dimensions, such as the level of crime: collective efficacy. It captures

“the linkage of mutual trust and the willingness to intervene for the common good” (Sampson et al. 1997, 919) of the residents of a neighborhood.

Putnam’s definition of social capital has been widely criticized. First, people maintain that voluntary commitment has not declined, but has taken on different forms (cf. Sampson 2012, ch. 8). Second, it is criticized that commitment is perceived as something inherently good, to the disregard of its potential ‘dark side’ (Arneil 2006; Haynes & Hernandez 2008). Lastly, Portes (1998, 19) points out that Putnam’s notion of social capital is tautological. The existence of social capital in a community is inferred, among others, from low levels of crime or high economic development, which at the same time are the dimensions contributing to social capital. Low levels of crime may, hence, at the same time be interpreted as *contributing to* social capital, but also as being an *outcome of* it. Nevertheless, the notion of social capital remains highly influential and researched, not least because high levels of social capital in a neighborhood are still connected to ideals of community and social cohesion. In this regard, the relevance of place is widely discussed.

Social capital and place

With respect to social capital and its spatial anchorage in cities or neighborhoods, Blokland and Rae (2008) argue that the structure and use of cities has changed. As a consequence, social capital is not an inherent feature of the city anymore, but it is institutionalized in privatized communities: “we are bowling in social circles of our own choosing where social divides come to play an even more important role when they are expressed through spatial boundaries” (ibid., 24). People still use the city, but in a much less localized way, so people hardly encounter each other anymore simply by being outside in the neighborhood. If people do not go to the same local institutions or shops, or do not use the same foci, they do not get a chance to meet and interact with people on a regular basis – the precondition for engagement (social capital).

Thus, who to form a community with is no longer a question of space, but rather of choice. People choose different settings in the city which they feel belonging to. Thus emerges a disassociation of social, economic and political citizenship. A person may

work at one place, do volunteer work in another neighborhood, and live in yet another area.

Despite ample evidence of the dissociation between social capital and place, many urban policy programs are still based on that very connection, coupled with the hope for socially cohesive communities. The famous program 'Moving to Opportunity' (MTO) as well as 'Hope VI' in the United States aim to create mixed-income communities. One of the hoped for outcomes thereby is that socially weaker families benefit from the middle classes' social capital. Similar programs have been introduced in European cities as well: 'Soziale Stadt' in Germany, 'Regeneration for mixture' in the Netherlands, France has a law on 'Solidarité et renouvellement urbain', and policies aimed at social (and ethnic) mix can also be found in Great Britain, Sweden, Finland, and even Japan (Musterd & Andersson 2005; Wissink & Hazelzet 2012).

The rationale behind these programs is that social mix will lead to mixed social networks. Consequentially, lower class residents can develop ties to get ahead, because the middle class members are likely to have more knowledge about job opportunities, education etc. (Joseph et al. 2007; Chaskin & Joseph 2011).

Studies dealing with the results and impacts of such policy programs are very mixed regarding the achievement of the proclaimed aims. They mostly point to a failure of the intended consequences – social networks remain homogeneous and ties to get ahead rarely develop (Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Galster 2007; Kleit 2005).

Mostly, these studies were focused on one neighborhood, assessing how in this particular place, cross-categorical ties developed or remained absent. In contrast, my approach looks at the Turkish-Germans' involvement in general, their provision of resources, and subsequently looks at what role place – the neighborhood – plays in that provision. We will see that it is first and foremost the 'ethnic community' that benefits from the Turkish-Germans' provision of resources. However, the neighborhood does indeed have a very important influence. Movers do not simply leave behind the socioeconomically disadvantaged areas they move out of, but

through different kinds of involvement continue to provide important resources to those areas and their residents.

6.2. Provision of social capital – what communities matter?

Social science research on social capital has pointed to a class dimension showing that overall middle classes tend to be more involved than people with a lower social background. For example, middle class African Americans have higher participation rates than members of the same racial community who belong to a lower class (Battle & Wright 2002; Cohen & Dawson 1993).

For ethnic or racial minorities, a particularly interesting question is whether or not they become involved in order to advance issues that affect fellow minority group members, or whether involvement is focused on other fields (such as the neighborhood, or social class). DuBois (1903²¹) claimed that the ‘Talented Tenth’ – a racial / ethnic group’s elite members – should work for the advancement of that group. Thereby, “the original Talented Tenth concept mandates not elitism but self-sacrifice and leadership of the masses by those who possess a college education” (Battle & Wright II 2002, 657). DuBois hence talks about a project of racial uplifting, which benefits members of the same racial group, but with lower class background. bell hooks (2000, 92), looking at the development of community involvement of Blacks, bemoans that “(a)fter years of collective struggle, by the end of the sixties liberal individualism had become more the norm for black folks, particularly among the black bourgeoisie, more so than the previous politics of communalism, which emphasized racial uplift and sharing resources”. The question is hence whether involvement is directed to a community (be that an ethnic one or some other kind) or whether hook’s stated ‘liberal individualism’ applies to the Turkish-Germans, too.

As already pointed out in the participants’ description, it stands out that they are all more or less voluntarily involved in organizations. The following two tables give an

²¹ <http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/1148.htm>

overview of the Turkish-Germans' various forms of involvement, also pointing out their daily, not institutionalized support for other people.

In general, most kinds of involvement are directed to other Turkish migrants. However, neither the kind of involvement, nor the groups of Turkish migrants the social capital is channeled to, is uniform. Involvement can be institutionalized via organizations, it can occur in non-institutionalized forms on a daily basis, or the job has an inherent feature of engagement. As pointed out before, there is no single homogenous Turkish community, and involvement for Turkish migrants is directed both to disadvantaged migrants, particularly young people, but also – as part of professional involvement – to the further advancement and recognition of successful Turkish-Germans.

In the following I will first describe these different forms of involvement. In a second step, I will assess the significance of 'place' in such involvement.

Table 5: Involvement of stayers & movers (*individual involvement in italics*)

Stayers	
Umut	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sports program for ethnic minority children in neighborhood - Besiktas Istanbul - <i>Internet-blog, writes about political developments (among other things)</i>
Nursel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neighborhood Management - Assembly women on district level - <i>Helps other migrants with translation, dealing with public agencies</i>
Sati	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Turkish Association - Political party, local level
Nevcan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Migrant organization for supporting elderly migrants with translation - <i>Translation, job search</i>
Baysan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demonstration against gentrification - Neighborhood management (JOB)
Devran	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social service job (JOB)
Isin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boxing coach (JOB), trains mainly local kids
Ozanay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Was active in Turkey - Party membership (not active)
Sibel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - BETAK Migrant Women's organization; Founding member of Turkish Association - Turkish-German Entrepreneur - <i>Beautification projects in neighborhood, involving local youths</i> - <i>Translation of documents; accompanying people to public service agencies</i>
Aydin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CemEvi (Alevi organization)
Atalay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Muslim organization - <i>Material support to local institutions</i>
Nasir	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Signed a petition for preservation of a shopping mall in neighborhood where he grew up

Hatira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initiated local petition - Parent representative in local school
Ceyda	- -
Mehri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Türkiyemspor; coach of first girls' soccer team - Kotti& Co; demos; support of local organizations
Erol	- Giving school lessons
Tekay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual - Lawyer's association - demonstrations
Kamer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Fati cultural house / mosque – supports people there with daily Q</i> - retirement arrangements for Turkish migrants (JOB)
Movers	
Ozeant	- -
Varol	- Free legal counseling, 2/month; legal counseling for young people
Lacin	- Cultural organization for Antakya (home town)
Bedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free private lessons; German-Turkish children's' meeting - Work as community manager (JOB) - Antifa; high political involvement - <i>support of friends in legal matters</i>
Basari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Daily support of other migrants in all matters</i> - Entrepreneur's association
Enginalp	- Assemblyman in Berlin Senate for Neukölln
Alkalin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Turkish Community (also managing board member); cultural-based organization - German-Turkish Lawyer's association
Selami	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Represents Turkish community at official (political) happenings</i> - Foreign commerce chamber Israel; national association of medium-sized economy - Part of JOB: renovating dilapidated buildings, introducing social mix, supporting artists
Selbi	- Blog on political issues (integration); single happenings such as distribution of German constitution
Behcet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Türkiyemspor (was MBM) - Turkish-German entrepreneurs' association (MBM, public relations) - Berlin soccer association (referee)
Özcan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Founded a golf club for disadvantaged youths; Türkiyemspor (was MBM) - Entrepreneurs' association (active member) - Parents' association
Erdim	- Soccer club, mainly for Turkish kids
Sercan	- Turkish origin association (support of that area)
Ferda	- Turkish parents' association (JOB)
Yurday	- Owner and founder of Turkish theater (JOB); involved in youth work
Selim	- His café as place for distribution of petitions etc.
Cevat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Society for urban economy (founder and member); targeted to migrant entrepreneurs - Turkish-German entrepreneurs' association (MBM) - Petition for turning a crossroads to 30km/h zone - was in neighborhood council (place of work) - Political party

Mithat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Association of driving instructors - Was active as soccer coach
Dalim	- New German media makers (member, provides office space)
Alper	- Opened a 'parent-children' café (JOB)
Nizami	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alevi cultural organization ; Founded soccer club mainly for Turks - Garden-organization (but garden = home) - Organization based on roots in the Turkey-village; meeting there once a year, planting trees etc.
Nedim	- Plays soccer in Alevi-based club
Mahir	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Türkspor soccer club, mainly for Turkish migrants - Part of project where employers go to schools in NK to tell about their work

Institutionalized involvement

First of all, we will have a look at institutionalized forms of involvement, such as Putnam (1993; 2007) had them in mind when bemoaning the decrease of memberships in such organizations.

Berlin has two main organizations for Turkish migrants, the 'Turkish Community' (TC) and the 'Turkish Association' (TA). Alkalin was a board member of the TC for several years, also as general secretary, doing various things, such as writing press statements, counseling other members, going to as well as organizing receptions with politicians and business members. Sati has been member of the TA for two years. She is mostly involved in planning events, trying to find speakers, sending out invitations etc. Although many of the TA-members have a Turkish family background, she explicitly points out that it is open to anybody, a reason why she likes that organization so much:

It is called 'Turkish Association', but it's not related to ethnic background or religious affiliation. Which is not the case in other Turkish organizations. There is usually a strong focus, such as loyalty with Atatürk, and so on. Which I don't find bad, but it becomes difficult to build a strong lobby. And I think it's much more important to have a big lobby, if you want to get through with certain things, if you want to position yourself and say or change something. That doesn't work if you're already split up within the community.

Sibel, the owner of a cosmetic clinic, was one of the founding members of the TC. After she had worked as a member of the board for several years, she decided to quit and found another organization which advances the rights of migrant women in Germany.

In addition to projects around women rights, they also deal with issues such as equal treatment for ethnic minority children in schools and kindergartens, and have just started a project for migrants with disabilities. She is very proud to list all the government agencies they are working with: *'We are very active on the political level. We don't only counsel, but we have a large network, so if people come to us, we can immediately transfer them to the expert person'.*

Other organizations for Turkish migrants in Germany or Berlin are focused on professional life. They combine issues that affect (Turkish) migrants, while at the same time focusing on social advancement of the group. Most prominent among the participants was the Turkish-German lawyers' association, as well as the association of Turkish-German entrepreneurs, of which many of the self-employed are members. Cevat, himself a coach for entrepreneurs, is active in the latter organization, and invests a lot of time in it. Not only are there weekly meetings that take at least two hours, but as a board member, he also visits many events, often of a political nature where he acts as a representative of the organization. The time he invests there does not keep him from being active in another organization. He is similar to other Turkish-Germans, who are often involved in more than one organization. Cevat himself is the founding member of an organization that helps migrants set up their own businesses:

It's about advising, about strengthening the entrepreneur's self-organization, but always with the focus on entrepreneurship, on self-employment, commercial activities. It's about the development of studies, so that you see the contribution of migrants to the economy. It's about discrimination, so that you teach about it, and find evidence. It's about building a network.

Cevat is hence not only active in an organization that helps himself, and supports self-employed migrants, but he also uses his professional expertise in order to help other migrants. Lawyer Varol likewise uses his expertise to help out others. Being active in two organizations for migrants, mostly from lower class backgrounds, he gives free legal advice once a month. Before he had two children, he did this counseling every week, but due to time constraints he had to cut back on the hours of involvement. He points out the importance of a shared language and the connected trust he gets from

the migrants. With their legal issues, they feel more comfortable consulting him than they would consulting a German lawyer.

In other cases, the job actually *is* the involvement. Those working in the social sector inherently fulfil a function that others do in their free-time. Five of the Turkish-Germans work in community organizations, and Ferda is employed by the Turkish parents' association. Her work is clearly focused on Turkish migrants. For the community managers, there is an overlap between work for a particular disadvantaged community and its residents, who are mostly ethnic minorities with a lower class background. This kind of involvement is probably the most institutionalized, although it is not what Putnam had in mind. To disregard this form of involvement, however, e.g. by dismissing it as simply a job, would not do justice to the people working in these jobs. They basically made their conviction their profession. This is by no means an easy road, since the payment in social sector jobs is mostly very low, so that economically, it is not very rewarding to make engagement one's actual job.

Some Turkish-Germans are also involved in religious and cultural organizations. Thereby, religious involvement in itself does not play a major role. If people are affiliated with a certain mosque or Alevi prayer house, it is mostly because these are seen as places to meet people, to socialize with fellow ethnics. The involvement in these cases is hence not religious, but rather the way Kamer describes it:

And then, I'm... how can I put, not active in the mosque, but they know, for example they always know that if they need help, if they need a man to go about something, they call me and we try everything to make it happen, so we help financially or by gathering a number of people.

It is more this wish to help out others that makes Kamer and others go to the mosque or religious center, not necessarily to perform religious practices. Aydin is an active member of the Alevi community in Kreuzberg. The reason for his involvement is political, since he tries to support the quest for the recognition of Alevi religion in Turkey. His support consists mainly in helping to raise money and contributing himself. When he talks about the importance of that community, he – just as Kamer – mainly points out the social aspect of frequenting the prayer house. Going there, Aydin meets

people who have the same beliefs as he does, who also want the Alevi religion to get recognized in Turkey. Nevertheless, Aydin, as well as Kamer, go to the prayer house or mosque, respectively, to socialize with people, not in order to practice their religion.

Another form of cultural involvement is directed to Turkey. Such involvement is not tied to a wish to return to Turkey. The idea is to keep up some ties to the country, the hometown or village, where some family and kin still live. Nizami for example founded an organization which collects money for the village he was born in. The idea was, first of all, to keep or re-establish ties to the people from the hometown in Turkey. Nizami tells how many of the residents left Turkey and settled in different cities in Germany. Due to the spatial distance, they did not keep in touch. At one point he regretted that, since many of the former village residents are also related to each other:

I didn't know my cousin anymore. And I said, that can't happen, we have to find a solution. And the solution was to found that organization, to meet at least once a year. And we've made it happen, last year, we were in our village, had a big party there and all the people who haven't seen each other for fifty years, they met again in the village. More than a thousand people. And now we said we will have this party every year in the last week of the seventh month.

Not only organizes Nizami the party in Turkey, he also organizes meetings in Germany. Additionally, he had another project to plant trees in the village. With the sole reason that there are not many trees, he wanted to plant some there. He was very proud to tell me that at the end of the month he was going to fly to his village, and – together with others – plant 50 000 hectares of trees.

Lacin, on the other hand, mainly contributes to the well-being of the city he spent the first few years of his childhood, by giving money to a cultural organization. Although giving money, as a form of altruism, is not part of Putnam's definition of social capital, Putnam himself acknowledges that such forms of altruism often are a sign of "social connectedness" (2001, 7). For Lacin, giving money presents such a connection to the city he grew up in, and of which he is still very fond.

Sports

Sports has long been seen as a vehicle for integration, and a place for building social capital – Putnam (2001) consequently also bemoaned the loss of members in bowling clubs. Sports is thought to do many things at once: the “promise in the notion of social capital is that sport and other associational activity can make a contribution to building up levels of trust in sport, culture and society and consequently contributing to democracy, community spirit and a weakening public domain” (Jarvie cited in Spaaij 2009, 247). Being active in a sports club seems to be about much more than being physical active, staying fit and meeting friends. A membership in sports clubs supposedly leads to more social capital via “building self confidence, social contacts and morality lessons” (Seippel 2006, 173).

The idea that sports present a vehicle for the advancement and social mobility of ethnic minorities and leads to a more cohesive society, has found its place in policy programs. In Germany, there is the national program ‘Integration through Sports’²², and the Netherlands have introduced the ‘Sport Steward Program’. Spaaij (2009), assessing this latter program, points to the importance of the staff that is involved in the program. They provide participants with information, new perspectives, and encouragement. The extensive program, which included not only sports, but also counseling on work opportunities, did not have the hoped for positive effect on social mobility. Nevertheless, the staff had an impact on the socioeconomically disadvantaged participants, mainly from non-Western backgrounds, by reinforcing “identity and recognition, providing not only moral support but also public acknowledgement of participants’ claim to certain resources” (ibid., 258). This is also what seems to be important to the Turkish-Germans, in their sports involvement.

Particularly men show civic engagement in the field of sports. They use sports – often football – as a means to educate children. It is about more than just playing football, and includes a cultural and educational dimension, as Erdim, volunteering as football coach explains:

²² http://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Verfassung/Gesellschaftlicher-Zusammenhalt/Integration-Sport/integration-sport_node.html

It's also our goal, we are the second generation, we want to keep the third generation away from all this [new media] stuff. So that's why we invite them to play, and they like to come. So that they get to know our culture, that they see that the world is more than just TV. That you... that our young children communicate more together. 'Cause they don't do it. Everyone is lonely and does his thing, Facebook, twitter, that's all they want. But yes, we consciously did it like that. It's not only about sports, but also a bit of the social.

Most of those interested in football were active in one of the two Turkish football clubs in Berlin, *türkiyemspor* and *türkspor*. They mostly started playing in those clubs, and then either became coach themselves, or became active in the club's board. Mehri, who started out as a player with *türkiyemspor*, and after that became a coach, was one of the people who pushed for setting up a team for young, mostly ethnic minority girls, in 2004. They first tried to find women to set up the team and do the training, but they did not find any. So Mehri more or less slipped into that role and became the main founder of the team...

... because there was just no other person with the sensibility, the competence, to really go through with it. Who had the patience and not only the ambition to be a pro-trainer or to make a lot of money of it and blablabla, so it was just clear that I'd do it.

The girls in the team have different ethnic backgrounds and come from various areas in Berlin, although mostly from Kreuzberg where they also train. The team and Mehri's engagement is so well-known that he initially did not want to do an interview, because he found that way too many 'hillbilly' (*hinterwäldlerisch*) students are interested in his team, in the triad of 'integration – football for girls – Turkish', but keep asking the wrong questions, without having any knowledge about society.

Özcan was also active with *türkiyemspor*, but had switched the domain, and founded an organization which tries to interest young, socially disadvantaged, migrant children in the sports of golf. At the time of the interview, the club just had its first anniversary. Özcan founded the club with some friends, then went to schools, mainly in Kreuzberg, to find children who were interested enough in doing a golf class for a couple of months. Every weekend, a bus driver is hired who picks up the children at their homes, brings them to the golf place at a Berlin outskirts, and later takes them back home.

Özcan's example also shows how hard it can be trying to be active for a socially disadvantaged population:

The schools said 'What, you don't want any money from us?'. 'No, we actually bring the money, you just have to choose the kids'. And, there were three schools altogether. And many [children] came from this one school only, the other schools only brought one or two kids who took part in the project. We were a bit angry at why they only chose two children.

Wanting to be active, and succeeding in it, are two different things. Particularly if support of other institutions, such as schools, is needed, perseverance may be important. This should be stressed particularly, because many Turkish-Germans were not only actively involved, but initiated the founding of an organization themselves.

Sports, then, contain an element of 'ethnic uplift', which matters a lot to the participants. They are active out of conviction that it is a good thing, and they are often active despite the little time they have at their disposal. Obviously, as Spaaij points out, "sport, as a relatively autonomous field, cannot be viewed in isolation from other social spheres, such as the family, education, labour market and government". However, it may be an important element, and is certainly seen as a very valuable form of engagement, for young children and youths, often with a (Turkish) migration background. Through their engagement, the Turkish-Germans may be successful in providing information, influence social ties, and give recognition (cf. Seippel 2006, 174f.) to the young children, who often come from ethnic minority and lower class families.

These institutionalized forms of involvement show that the Turkish-Germans are active in various organizations, largely with a focus on other (Turkish) migrants. As important as the provision of social capital through these formal channels is the provision of social capital through non-institutionalized forms of involvement. Without assessing this more informal form of 'capital flow', we would disregard a very important way of how Turkish-Germans with high social capital transfer this to people who are less well-endowed. Particularly the expertise through going to school in Germany, thus acquiring the language skills but also learning how the educational system works, and

subsequently through knowledge gained during the studies and professional life, the participants are able to support other people, who are mostly from a lower class, and often have a Turkish background. In these non-institutionalized forms, the role of place becomes much more important than in the examples dealt with so far.

Non-institutionalized forms of support

Most of the Turkish-Germans started to be involved in migrants' issues early on. One could also say that they were more or less forced to do so, mainly due to their language skills. They had to act as translators when the parents or other kin or friends needed to go to a public service agency or deal with native-Germans in other domains, as Tekay remembers:

I've always been the person for all people, who didn't speak proper German or who didn't know how to deal with bureaucratic forms, I basically did that since my childhood years. At the age of twelve I've already helped all the neighbors with translations or visits at the doctor's. From this perspective, it's a permanent condition.

In contrast to their parents, the parents' friends and other kin, the participants went to German kindergartens and schools, and were much more proficient in the German language which made them 'natural' providers of the resource language so that they became familiar with the German bureaucratic system early on.

This engagement continued and became even more extensive with the persons' increased cultural capital and knowledge on particular issues, for example through studies. Bedia tells how she always helped out friends, instead of becoming a member of some organization:

What I did a lot, was some kind of social counseling for friends, about Hartz IV, about law and legislation. I worked in a café for a long time and there were many people from different countries and... I was somehow, I have the knowledge, because of my parents. So I wanted to pass it on. And then there was always the phrase 'Instead of going to the union, go to Bedia'.

Bedia had to support her parents a lot, when they had to deal with bureaucratic issues, and now passes on this knowledge she has gained in her childhood and teenage years. Nursel claims that it is in her nature to support people, and she started early on. Studying law makes her even better able to help out:

Nowadays, for example, my neighbor, if he gets a letter or something, or from the housing associations, I can help him. We speak the same language because those are Turkish neighbors, and I know about all the paragraphs, if there is such a letter.

Nursel specifically says that she helps her neighbors, which already hints at the spatial dimension of such loose, daily involvement. This is then also a main difference between the movers and stayers, for which the influence of 'place', of the neighborhood, on involvement is clearly different, as we will see in the following part.

Thinking about these different forms of involvement and about who is involved in what ways hints at a possible gender dimension. Involvement via sports, for example, was only mentioned by male respondents, whereas non-institutionalized forms of involvement, mostly for fellow residents (cf. below) seem to be more prevalent among the female participants. As mentioned in chapter 2.4., research has shown that parental styles may differ so that boys spend more time outside, whereas girls' activities are more confined to the private realm. Research on the relation between gender, religion and sports in Norway has shown that for young Muslim girls, doing sports can challenge religiously influenced images of femininity (Walseth 2006a). Other research has pointed out that only a small share of ethnic minority girls, particularly of those with a Muslim background, are members of sports organizations (cf. de Knop et al. 1996; Walseth 2006b). Although most of the participants of this study do not consider them very religious, they say that their parents often were so, which may have had an influence on the upbringing of the children.

Besides, research on career advancement of women in Turkey has revealed a continued "low gender egalitarianism", so that women are expected to "be primarily responsible for family care, where the family includes husband and children as well as parents and in-laws" (Aycan 2004, 458). Such values are transmitted through socialization, and a reflection of the responsibilities laid on women is that they focus on supporting their family, and close others.

Hence, if doing sports as a free-time activity is reserved for boys, and girls are encouraged to assume responsibilities in the private sphere, this gendered division may be reflected in later forms of involvement.

6.3. Spatial dimension of the provision of social capital

We have so far seen that the Turkish-Germans are involved in various organizations and ways. I will now turn to the question of the spatial dimension of this involvement, and whether the neighborhood as a community plays a role for involvement.

Engagement in the Turkish Community (TC) or Turkish Association (TA), as well as in some of the professional organizations such as the one for Turkish-German entrepreneurs, has a city-wide scope. These organizations are open to all Turkish-Germans in Berlin and their aims are irrespective of any particular neighborhood. They deal with issues affecting the lives of (professional) Turkish migrants in Berlin. The Turkish-German entrepreneur's association, for example, wants to "support the Turkish (business-) Community, and to take a stand on and influence economic, political, social and cultural issues"²³. Other professional organizations have an even wider focus, such as the Turkish-German lawyer's association, which provides a platform for Turkish-German lawyers who practice their profession anywhere in Germany. Besides, the main Turkish organizations, such as the TC have corresponding organizations in other German federal states.

There is also transnational engagement, directed to Turkey. If Nizami plants trees in his home-town in Turkey, Lacin regularly gives money to a cultural fond to support the town he spent some years of his childhood in, or Aydin advocates the recognition of Alevi religion in Turkey, the spatial focus is the country or town of one's own or of the parent's origin.

Turning now to the Turkish-Germans' involvement that takes place in a neighborhood, I will assess why it takes place in a certain neighborhood, and whether it is indeed the

²³ <http://www.tdu-berlin.de/de/%C3%BCber-die-tdu.html> (own translation)

locality that plays a role for involvement, or rather the ethnic community. Generally, involvement in a neighborhood often overlaps with involvement for Turkish migrants. That makes it difficult to find out whether the basis for involvement is a specific locality, or rather a specific ethnic group. Nevertheless, with respect to the places of involvement, there is a clear difference between movers and stayers. The movers' activities are mostly directed to their previous place of residence or the neighborhood where they work, whereas the stayers' activities take place within their neighborhood.

Not one of the *movers* is actively involved in their current place of residence. In contrast, the involvement is directed to other neighborhoods, which are of lower socioeconomic status and have a higher share of ethnic minority residents.

Bedia's involvement is part of her professional life. She is a community manager working in Kreuzberg, where she is responsible for citizen participation. For Selami, it is his job as real estate developer that makes him at the same time an 'activist' for change in disadvantaged neighborhoods. His real estate holding renovates buildings with the aim to attract socially and ethnically mixed residents, or set space aside for cultural uses. He is very conscious and proud of the effect his work potentially has, emphasizing that he wants to contribute to positive urban change. Talking for example about districts such as Wedding and Kreuzberg, which, as he recounts, have been neglected as places for investment when Berlin was a divided city, but are now becoming increasingly attractive locations, he points out his company's particular approach to redevelopment:

It's not politics who regulates [urban development], it's the market. The real estate market regulates, and investors come and say that the next step is gentrification. They want to make profit, they don't give a damn about any structures. They just buy a house, divide it, sell it, and make profit. End of story. Then he buys the next one. (...) We are not like that, we don't think like that. I talk and discuss with other owners. I tell them, you can still make money, but the greed doesn't have to be that big, you don't have to go home with the 10, but with the 5. Not this profit maximization. You know what I mean. (...) But with us, they [residents] say that we were their lucky chance. Yes, that we really do have an impact.

We see how the job influences the place(s) Selami gets active in. The location of the job is generally important when looking at where involvement takes place. Mahir, who has his insurance branch office in Neukölln, was 'recruited' to go to schools in the neighborhood and present his work in order to give students new perspectives for their future life. Enginalp, who is not only a lawyer but also a (fully paid) politician, is the representative of Neukölln in the Berlin Senate – the district he has lived in previously and where he spends much of his time due to his political role. Basari, who lives in Pankow but has his tax consultancy office in Wedding, mentions that his daily involvement is particularly benefiting people who live in close spatial proximity to his office. He is known in the neighborhood surrounding his office, and many people come to him if they need help, even in matters that are not related to his job as tax consultant. When we ended the interview, another person was waiting in his office already, and Basari told me that this was another *'Turkish fellow citizen'* (*'Mitbürger'*) which he was accompanying to a pro bono legal advice. He stressed that he was accompanying him for free, without receiving money for his efforts. On other occasions, he was called when a burglary happened in the area. This was not his field of expertise at all, but again, since he was known in the neighborhood, and since it was a Turkish migrant affected by the burglary, it seemed natural to call him, and he was able to help interacting with the police. Basari highly values this kind of helpfulness, doing things for free, and presents it as an expression of his Turkish background. He believes that, in contrast to native-Germans, Turkish migrants do not wait long to ask for help, and to provide help.

Although Basari presents his support as rather a natural thing to do and it thus seems very altruistic, there might still be an instrumental dimension to it. After all, he is a tax consultant and helping out many people in his immediate environment, may also be a form of making his services known and building a base for (future) clients. This also applies to other service providers, such as lawyers. Varol's free legal advice, for instance, at the same time makes him known as a lawyer so that even a pro bono legal counseling might in the end result in new clients, through people promoting his name

by word of mouth. This does not make the involvement any less relevant, but it adds another, more instrumental, layer.

For Basari, Enginalp and Bedia, the place of work is at the same time the place they have lived in before. They thus also support former fellow residents – a connection back to the old neighborhood that they highly value. Enginalp gives an example of his various tasks as a politician in his former place of residence Neukölln:

Then there are many organizations that I visit. They work on all the stuff that goes wrong here, and they obviously have problems. They are very happy when people are coming who actually listen and find out what they can do for them. Bring some political party prominence, or some larger prominence.

Simply by visiting organizations, Enginalp already shows support, because as representative for the district of Neukölln, his actions are noticed by the media. So if he goes and visits certain organizations or associations, they become noticed, recognized, in the best case also to future sponsors. As politician, he is well-known in Neukölln, particularly among the Turkish-German population as he claims, and they often call him, no matter what the issue is: *'It really starts with day-to-day issues. Where they [Neukölln residents] can't think of anything else than saying 'Let's just call Enginalp'. Although they should better call a plumber'.*

Bedia, former resident of Kreuzberg-South and now living in Charlottenburg, stresses that even if she could choose, she would still like to be active in Kreuzberg-North, where she is employed as a community manager. Although she finds that Kreuzberg-South, which has experienced gentrification and which she now considers too *'hip'*, she is happy to come back to the district as such. Bedia enjoys working in Kreuzberg-North, engaging the disadvantaged residents in the development of the neighborhood. Through her work, she has an influence on urban change in her former place of residence. It is important to her to work with the lower income residents, so that they can potentially influence the further development of Kreuzberg, trying for example to avoid the negative consequences of gentrification in Kreuzberg-North as they have happened in the Southern part of the district, such as displacement due to rising rents.

Sampson has shown the tight connection of leadership flows between Chicago communities and the respective elites' residential trajectories: "migration flows among communities are directly related to the network flows defined by leadership ties" (2012, 352). This connection is visible for the actively involved movers in my study. Their residential trajectory is connected to their involvement, in that they are still engaged in the community they have lived in before. Another community that plays a role is connected to the place of work. If people get active there as well, another community is included in the network of communities within a city, and "cross-neighborhood spatial ties" (ibid., 239) develop. Residential trajectories do not only include change of addresses, but also daily mobility trajectories. Particularly the trajectory focused on work is important. The local community benefiting from the provision of social capital is then centered on the neighborhood where the Turkish-Germans' jobs are located.

The Turkish-German *stayers* are much more active in their own (micro-) neighborhood. Nursel and Sati are members of the Social Democrats on the respective district-level, Nursel is also an elected member of the community board (*Quartiersrat*). Tekay says that she has probably walked every street of her neighborhood while demonstrating. And Mehri is an active supporter of a local protest group that aims at fighting the displacement of lower class, often ethnic minority residents of a large social housing complex in Kreuzberg-North.

Nursel's example of how she became involved in the community council illustrates the overlap of involvement for the neighborhood and issues concerning (Turkish) migrants. She, who says that she is always complaining about problems in the neighborhood, one day, saw a leaflet promoting the attendance of the community board. She spontaneously decided to go the meeting. There were many other residents with a Turkish family background attending the meeting. When Nursel decided that she wanted to present herself as candidate for election as an official member, she had the advantage of knowing most of the Turkish residents. Because they knew her from growing up in the neighborhood, they trusted her and elected her right away: '*I came, I*

saw, I conquered'. Her commitment as member of the community board means that she is active for the neighborhood. Residents trusted her and gave her the credit of trust that she would also be successful, representing the issues of the fellow residents, in the community board. That trust also came from Nursel's previous support to the residents. Due to her background in law, she was helping out fellow residents continuously, writing letters to public service agencies, helping out when there was trouble with the housing association, etc.

With Isin, it was hard to talk about anything else but his local involvement. He came to Germany at the age of two, and has since always lived on Sternburgstrasse in Schöneberg-North. He is a trained electrician, but has been active as a boxer, and opened a boxing gym in 2005 – which had been his dream for many years. Opening the gym, he has been working together with a social housing association that has many buildings in the area, and is his main sponsor. The ceiling of the gym, where we met for the interview, is draped with flags from countries from all over the world. Although he trains young people, teenagers and older people alike, his heart lies with the young kids who come to train at his place, who are mainly from the neighborhood, and who mostly have a migrant background. He clearly connects his job as boxing coach with an educational mission for the kids in the neighborhood:

We don't only give the kids the success with the sports, we also... we learn life here. We take care of them. [Teach them] where they have to be careful, how they have to behave in society. Not everyone can become a sportsperson. Everyone can become an idiot. That's the easiest thing in life. But a sportsperson, an exemplary person, a person of respect, that's a lot of work.

In his view, Schöneberg-North has changed for the worse and he believes that many children are at risk to follow a wrong path that may lead them to criminal activity, a danger that he tries to counteract through his local engagement as boxing coach.

As described earlier, not all kinds of involvement take place in formal organizations. In contrast, there are many forms of irregular, not institutionalized, but still very important activities the Turkish-Germans engage in. Sampson points out that the social

capital literature largely overlooks such forms of engagement. He claims that researchers should also focus on “civic events that are collective in nature and that bring together members of the community” (Sampson 2012, 182). For Isin, basically every boxing session is a civic event in that sense. Often, though, the non-institutionalized involvement is even less ‘official’, and not event-based. Nevertheless, it is still directed to fellow residents and brings neighborhood residents into contact.

As described previously, many stayers have been informally involved in neighborhood life, by translating documents or accompanying mainly elderly migrants to public service agencies. Sometimes, it is not a single person who benefits from the stayers’ support, but neighborhood institutions. Atalay who has needed a long time to feel comfortable in his present neighborhood in Kreuzberg-North, and only does so now because he feels that his fellow residents, particularly the Turkish ones, have changed and become more open and tolerant, supports local institutions such as the kindergarten. Atalay, a computer and programming specialist, with layman knowledge in other fields as well such as insolvency, gladly gives material and immaterial support:

So I helped the people in the area. Kindergartens for example, I often gave them things they needed. We have three kindergartens here, and we were able to give the children some equipment. Or if people needed desks, furniture - I did insolvency things, so they were here, and I supported organizations. Otherwise, just the people I know here, I helped them with computers. Or if their families had problems, we sat down and talked what could be done to solve the problems.

His helpfulness is very diverse, and stretches from help to institutions such as kindergartens for which he can provide material, through helping organizations and individuals with professional advice, and he even supports people if they have family problems.

Sibel who is very fond of the Wedding neighborhood where she lives with her husband, her parents, and their dog, has found ways to be engaged in the neighborhood, to engage other, particularly younger people, and to profit from the engagement at the same time. Next to her day-to-day involvement, including translations or supporting migrants in dealings with welfare offices, she also works with local institutions:

There is for example a youth club, next to our house. We made a huge project there, we had a design challenge to paint the outer wall of that building. And, we also clean our garden with the local kids. They come, they also get a few euros, but they help us clean the garden, planting new seeds, so they won't destroy anything. They also clean the whole street. Things like that, so they get used to it.

In this instance, Sibel is not only involved herself, but manages to also engage others. Sibel has a high standard regarding orderliness, and wants her yard as well as the general environment to be nice and beautiful. At the same time, she knows that other residents may not initially share this wish, or not have the capacity to make and keep it clean. That is why she finds means to involve the local youth. With the idea that they will not destroy what they actually made, but be proud of their own work, she involves them in projects, even if it is only to clean her garden. Coupled with her involvement in the local kindergartens and the help she gives to parents in bureaucratic matters, she is respected in the neighborhood. Sibel is able to engage other locals, so that the neighborhood which she describes as '*chaotic, but with a system*' is well functioning, with a feeling of community. In the long run, the neighborhood's collective efficacy (Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson 2012, ch. 7) may increase as a consequence of the residents being active together in the neighborhood. Sibel, as highly engaged and respected person in the neighborhood, is a crucial person bringing residents together so that they become involved for the 'common good'.

For the spatial dimension of the provision of social capital, public familiarity seems to be crucial. Public familiarity emerges when "interdependent anonymous people keep encountering each other, and *Vergemeinschaftung* occurs" (Blokland 2003b, 93, italics in original). Encountering each other, again, is dependent on neighborhood use. That is what makes places relevant as sites for providing resources. The day-to-day support that stayers such as Nevcan or Atalay, and movers such as Basari or Enginalp provide happens in the neighborhood they frequent a lot. For the stayers, that is mostly the neighborhood of residence, whereas for the movers, it is the neighborhood where they have lived and / or where they work. What is crucial for movers and stayers alike is that they, through regular encounters in the streets and public places, know the local

population, and that makes them willing to help out. Providing support is not about a densely knit network, but about public familiarity, either in the neighborhood of residence or that of work.

6.4. Conflict

So far, the stories about involvement have been positive ones. The Turkish-Germans highly value their commitment. Even though they are already highly occupied with work and family, they do not want to miss out on that kind of activism.

However, there are instances where a person tried to be engaged, but the effort was not well received by the group it was directed to. Or it was too well received, so that it intruded in the private sphere.

Alper, who has grown up and spent most part of his life in Neukölln, still works there. Although his main business is in the textile sector, he has other projects as well, and opened a parent-children café, also with a social motive. He, however, was very disappointed, seeing how the residents treated it:

So you come in with four kids, buy one scoop of ice-cream and you destroy the playing room for four hours. That would be embarrassing to me. (...) Then I had a flat screen in the first room, with tables and chairs, so that you could watch the kids via the camera. Idea was, the kids play there, you enjoy coffee and a piece of cake. (...) and you can watch your kids. But what are they doing? They drink one coffee and occupy the place for three, four hours. I don't take an entry fee, nothing. But I was thinking too social. (...) It was really not about making money, really not about money, but if I see that, that's repulsive. That's why this social thinking, local community, that's just bullshit.

Alper closed the parent-children café after only a short while. In contrast to Selami's experience who always had great feed-back from the residents and users of the cultural spaces he provided, Alper found that the residents did not appreciate the café and his business, but rather 'exploited' it as a cheap way to have others – such as the waitress - watch the children. The picture fits his general characterization of the Neukölln residents, which he calls 'freeriders' (*Schmarotzer*). He attributes this to the welfare state, provocatively asking whether I have ever heard that anyone 'has died from hunger in Turkey because they don't have Hartz IV?'. In his opinion, too many

people, particularly in Neukölln and Kreuzberg rely on unemployment benefits, and are not even interested in looking for a job. Ultimately, he blames the state for this situation, which provides welfare in the first place. Alper acknowledges that discrimination likewise contribute to a socioeconomically disadvantaged position of ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, the consequence is that the residents cannot, in his eyes, appreciate his effort of doing something for the neighborhood.

Alper is the only one among the Turkish-Germans who is planning to emigrate, and move to Turkey. He has been born in Germany and lived there all his life, but feels that there is no community feeling at all. His experience is quite the opposite of Mehri's, who felt he wanted to stay in Kreuzberg-North because people woke up, started to work together and fight for their rights. Alper, in his old and present neighborhood, as in Germany in general, cannot find anything that comes close to such a kind of community feeling and engagement:

A: The bureaucracy, the people, the weather. (...) And all this community talk is like shit. Not only in Tempelhof. Here [Neukölln]. Particularly here.

I: So how would you describe your previous Kiez, Neukölln?

A: But it's not previous. Because I spend all my days here. I'm totally stuck here. It's disgusting. It's really abhorrent, disgusting, for me it's really 'yucky'. 'Cause every attempt to do something here is being blocked.

Another form of conflict that inhibits involvement on the local level is the blurring of the public and private sphere. This happened to stayers who have been living in their neighborhood for a long time, and have been active there in one way or the other.

Nevcan, for example, was a member of an organization which helped mainly elderly migrants with translating documents, going along with them to service agencies, writing letters etc. This kind of involvement was mainly targeted to other Turkish migrants living in the same neighborhood. The effect of doing such work for people in the same locality was that she was hardly able to walk around anymore without being asked for small favors:

N: At one point, I stopped because people started talking to me in the streets [laughs].

I: Okay, so like 'Can you quickly translate something for me'?

N: Yes. Or 'Hello, I have that', so they said hello because they recognized you, because you also live here, and then it started 'And by the way, this person...', but that's

impossible. That didn't work. I'd like to do it again in another neighborhood, if I have time, but not anymore in the neighborhood where I live. That's not possible.

Devran who by way of his job is engaged in community development, also pointed out the difficult separation of the public and private sphere. He works at an organization which tries to find volunteers who are paired with a child from Neukölln. These two then meet every week for at least half a year, and develop some activities that the child likes and would otherwise probably not have the possibility to engage in. Due to the local focus of the project, Devran is well known to the children's families, and also to some of the 'godparents', as they are called. The Kiez is very close to the one where he lives, which is why he tries to keep a certain distance. Talking about whether or not people in the neighbourhood greet and know each other, he says:

Yes, uhm, a bit more than a quick hello, but not too much either. I also think, because it's a bit problematic, free-time and privacy, and job, uhm, you should keep that separated. To a certain degree, uhm, I'm trying to separate it.

This separation is exactly the reason why Enginalp has never been politically active in his place of residence. When he was living in Neukölln, he became politically involved but in another 'micro-neighborhood', which was a conscious choice:

I never lived in the neighbourhood where I had my office. I consciously avoided that. (...) I also cannot live the way I want to. You have certain expectations from Turks. So they put pressure on me, 'why don't you go to the mosque, why is your wife like that, why isn't she wearing a headscarf, why isn't she doing this, why isn't she doing that, she is too self-confident' (...) I don't want that.

His actual role as representative of Neukölln makes him frequent the area a lot. The spatial distance to his place of residence in Frohnau allows him to 'recover' from that job and the many demands that the residents direct at him:

You have to deal with things that are just so useless. You step into dog pooh, people keep chatting you up. There is also a mix here of incredibly many half-knowledgeable people, who tell you an unbelievably amount of stuff and that always gives you headaches. Because it basically doesn't even make sense to talk to them.

Enginalp tries to keep more boundaries than just the spatial one. He tries to avoid dealing with issues on integration, because *'I always say what I think. And many of my fellow ethnics don't like to hear that. I sometimes talk worse than Buschkowsky*

[Neukölln mayor] and... people don't like that'. In this way, he is similar to Sati who also tries to avoid being caught up in issues around migration and integration. She has been active in the party of the social democrats. Talking about her fields of expertise, she says that the issues around migration and integration are not her primary ones, but she cannot entirely avoid dealing with them. One reason for that being that her political engagement is well known among the local migrant population:

What happened often is, because people in the area, in the Kiez, they know that I'm active in a political party, so they come up to me. They tell me, this and that isn't going well, this is unfair, and so on.

Although they are not her preferred issues, Sati feels an obligation to deal with questions involving the equal treatment of European Union-citizens and citizens from Turkey, just to name one example. Besides, other party-members likewise see her as a 'natural' specialist for those issues. In 2011, for example, "The valley of the wolves" appeared, a movie that Sati was not interested at all in watching, mainly because she thought it was full of anti-Western stereotypes. The film by a Turkish director is about a Turkish secret service member who goes to Iraq in order to take revenge on U.S. soldiers, who previously humiliated Turkey in the so-called 'hood event', where in 2003 U.S. military captured and interrogated Turkish soldiers in Iraq (Schröder 2006). Selbi knew that people would ask her for her opinion, so she felt obliged to go and see the movie. Another instance she remembers happened at a seminar for media relations, in which she participated on behalf of the party. During the round of introducing oneself, she said that she studied political science and was active in the party. Another woman told about her own religious interest and involvement. Later, the issue centred on religion:

And then the topic of religion came up and everyone was looking at me. Even the teacher. And went on talking. And I only smiled, very obviously. And then she [teacher] realized, 'of course, it's not her topic', and then she also apologized and said 'I'm sorry', but those are the bricks you drop. And the woman, who said she was interested in religion, who was actively involved... But that's exactly the things that you scratch, where you say, I have to deal with this topic, I just don't have a choice.

For these Turkish-Germans, local engagement largely overlaps with engagement for other Turkish migrants. This combination can make it hard to keep a distance between

the private and the public sphere. This is a potential for conflict, and a reason for boundary-drawing, some of which can take a spatial form – being active in a neighbourhood where you do not actually live.

6.5. Summary and discussion

Several conclusions with regard to social capital can be drawn. In contrast to the findings of e.g. Andreotti et al. (2013, 589) who find that upper middle class members in Paris, Milan and Madrid show forms of “civic disengagement”, which again can be interpreted as a form of “partial exit” from city and neighborhood life, the upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans are actively involved in various ways. Formal organizations, such as the Turkish Community, or job associations for lawyers or entrepreneurs are examples of involvement. A particularly valued form seems to be engagement for young immigrant children via the means of sports. Lastly, I have shown as well that social capital is not only provided through formal organizations, but that loose forms of engagement play a vital role as well.

In all these forms of civic engagement, the neighborhood matters, but it does so differently for movers and stayers. For the upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, there is, first of all, a clear focus on support for other Turkish migrants. They benefit from the Turkish-Germans knowledge and skills, which they pass on through political involvement, activities that are part of the own job, and non-institutionalized forms of support. It is therefore important to not only focus on ‘traditional’ forms of involvement in formal organizations. On the one hand, people working in social service jobs, such as community managing, have made their conviction their profession and show forms of support on a daily basis – this is basically the most institutionalized form of providing other people with one’s own resources. On the other hand, daily engagement, which is not institutionalized, presents another relevant form of support. Here, the relevance of the neighborhood comes in. Particularly the stayers, who are better educated and working in higher-status professions than many of their fellow residents, many of whom have a migration background, help and support fellow residents. This daily engagement is clearly spatialized and benefits those living in close

spatial proximity. The spatial dimension of engagement for the movers differs. They are not active in their own – socioeconomically advantaged – neighborhoods. Nevertheless, their involvement still has a spatial dimension. The people benefiting from their resources are those living in spatial proximity to their place of work, or in the old neighborhood – both of which are often socioeconomically disadvantaged and are home to a larger share of migrants than the own place of residence. Thus, a change of address which is coupled to moving to a socioeconomically better neighborhood does not mean that the movers take their social capital out of the disadvantaged neighborhoods they leave. They continue to provide it. This has importance for policy makers, when thinking about social mix. Living in the same residential area is not a prerequisite for people with high social capital to provide it to others who are less well equipped with it. For people such as Enginalp, the spatial distance is actually the reason why he feels he can continue his engagement.

For the Turkish-Germans, involvement is very important to them and they are willing to pay costs such as less time for other (free-time) activities. Nevertheless, as pointed out, supporting people and doing them favors also increases the own person's profile in an area, and thus may contribute to a broader base of potential clients, particularly for people offering services such as tax consultancy, legal advice or computer programming. Sibel has most clearly expressed the more instrumental side of her involvement, namely that she wants to live in a clean and orderly neighborhood, which is why she engaged the neighborhood residents in projects to achieve this.

We can connect these high levels of engagement, and particularly its implicitness, with the absence of feelings of guilt about moving out of a socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood, about leaving behind other migrants. Such feelings of guilt, about in one way or another pursuing a different path than most other members of the same ethnic group, are known from other studies (Hebson 2009; Vallejo and Lee 2009), but they did not appear for any of the participants of this study. In contrast to what might be assumed, the movers are not lost to their old neighborhood, or to lower class ethnic fellows. They consciously provide others in lower positions with resources, such as good language skills, or with professional expertise. Guilt, in that sense, is not

necessary because living in the same neighborhood as the people one is involved for, is not a prerequisite for support.

Even if the engagement is not centred on lower class migrants, but on fellow professionals, there is an 'ethnic' component, insofar as it is focused on the advancement of ethnic minorities within the prospective profession. There is, hence, a dimension of ethnic uplift included in all these forms of involvement.

Chapter seven: Networks, homophily & the relevance of place

The previous chapter has dealt with social capital and the ways, places, and communities the Turkish-Germans provide (with) resources. The present chapter deals with the participants' own access to resources, emotional and instrumental, and assesses their social networks, focusing especially on the local anchorage of the networks, and their ethnic and class diversity. We will see that the networks do not only differ between movers and stayers, but also within the groups of movers. This differentiation can be attributed to whether the neighborhood is rather urban or more residential.

7.1.1. Networks & place: decline of community?

The social capital literature connects the notion of community with studies dealing with people's networks. As noted in the previous chapter, social capital is realized through relations with other people. The transfer of resources, however, is not dependent on a network, but on public familiarity in an area.

In this part, it is the network, made up of weak and strong ties, that is assessed. A network, may or may not result from or be focused on a particular place. The role of places in network formation and maintenance has been one of the central issues in community studies, leading to three main positions regarding the extent and importance of local social ties (cf. Briggs et al. 2010; Hennig 2007 for an overview).

Sociologists supporting the *community lost* thesis (cf. Wellman & Leighton 1979) claim that local social ties are most valuable. Local ties are equated with communal relations (cf. Fischer et al. 1978). These, again, are characterized by high levels of intimacy and strong moral commitments. Such communities are often described as 'authentic' communities, "a social network of people of various kinds, ranks, and ages who encounter each other on the streets, in the stores, at sports parks, at communal gatherings. A good deal of personal interaction occurs [and there is a recognition of the network as a distinct] place with an ongoing character" (Packard cited in Fischer et al. 1978, 16). According to the *community lost* thesis, such local, communal communities are largely lost in cities, due to the widespread and easily accessible

means of transportation and communication. Consequently, urbanites are loose members of several communities, and networks are characterized as not very sustainable. The predominant networks contain a low proportion of kin and are spatially extensive, there is no local anchorage of particularly supportive relations. The claim of 'lost communities' has been challenged, among others, by Fischer et al. (1978). The authors claim that communal relations do not depend on spatial proximity, but on having real choice. If a person can choose who to have contact with, and that choice is not restricted by locality, contacts may be much more intimate exactly *because* of that choice.

The *community saved* thesis in contrast claims that the neighborhood still presents a very important community and densely knit and locally bounded network (Wellman and Leighton 1979, 374). People sort themselves to certain neighborhoods so that neighborhoods become very homogeneous. In these homogenous neighborhoods, social control and social support are strong.

Wellman and Leighton (1979) forward the middle ground of these two perspectives, the *community liberated*. A person's network in such a case is spatially dispersed, the local level does not play a major role. In such networks, ties are hardly multiplex, meaning that people are known from different contexts and roles do not overlap.

For network formation and maintenance, it seems that place, e.g. the neighborhood, does not play a major role anymore (see also Blokland 2003b). For the provision of social capital, I have shown that place indeed plays a role. The question now arises, whether the local community also influences access to social capital, or what other communities, such as those based on ethnicity or class background, do so.

Focusing on social networks, Wellman has conducted extensive studies to assess the relation between place, and the strength and reciprocity of contacts. Wellman and Wortley (1990) claim that the neighborhood does not play an important role for the formation and maintenance of ties, mainly due to the developments in transportation and the internet which make it easier to uphold contact with people who live further away. However, the neighborhood may still present an important place for contacts –

but it is just one among many others. Localness, or spatial proximity nevertheless remain an important factor particularly when counting actual contact, in contrast to the simple existence of a tie (Wellman 1996). Thereby, face-to-face contact is much more prevalent than telephone contact. For his Toronto study, Wellman claims that “combining face-to-face and telephone contact shows that (...) local ties have a disproportionately large number of contacts with active network members. Although most contacts are outside the neighborhood, local ties are important sources of people’s routine interactions” (ibid., 351).

For migrants and their networks, there is often an assumed homogeneity. Migrants are thrown into one category, irrespective of for example social background, motive and history of migration, and their networks are presented as homogenous, again only paying attention to ethnic background. With respect to social capital, a lack of weak and bridging ties is stated, meaning that ethnic minorities stay confined to a circle of and with fellow ethnic minority members. A reason for that, according to many studies, is a preference of ethnic migrants to socialize with fellow migrants, what is called homophily.

7.1.2. Networks, homophily & social closure

The concept of homophily was first introduced by Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) who studied friendship patterns. They observed that people who are categorically similar tend to form friendships with each other. The tendency of people to form friendships with similar people—along the dimensions of social class, race, ethnicity and Bourdieuvian tastes, is however only an observed correlation, as they mention in a footnote, it is not an explanatory concept.

In more detail, Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) examined friendship formation in two U.S. communities, Hilltown and Craftown. They observed that the degree of homophily for certain social attributes differed substantially between the two communities. In the more cohesive community, meaning that residents shared “overarching community purposes” (ibid., 22) less homophily was found, and if so it was along characteristics of

acquired status, such as education or occupational status. The less cohesive community, in contrast, exhibited a higher degree of homophily, mainly along ascribed statuses that cannot be changed, such as gender or ethnicity. These differences lead the authors to the point that there are different degrees of homophily. Studying homophily, then, is a “complex problem of determining the degree to which such selectivity varies for different kinds of social attributes, how it varies within different kinds of social structure, and how such selective patterns come about” (ibid., 22). This complexity has often been disregarded in network studies and homophily was the explanation for homogenous networks, not the observation that had to be explained.

McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987) differentiate between induced and choice homophily. Studying voluntary organizations, they point to the restricted opportunities to form ties. Composition, size and structure of the organization influence the opportunities for contact. Provided, for example, that a group is made up of female white women only, we speak of induced homophily since the structure of the group entirely accounts for the similarity in friendship pairs. Hence, there has to be an available pool of diverse people to have diverse contacts. In a neighborhood or college, for example, that largely depends on group size (Blau 1977; De Souza Briggs 2007; Wimmer 2013). As Briggs showed, exposure is the most important explanation for the formation of inter-ethnic friendships: “For the odds that a White person in the United States will report having a friend of another race, the single most important predictor is where that White person lives in the country—more specifically, the whiteness of their metro area home” (De Souza Briggs 2007, 278). Adapted to the present case, if there is a neighborhood with a high share of Turkish-Germans, a high presence of these in the participants’ local networks need not be an expression of preference, but can be explained with exposure or availability.

Next to availability, an important factor for the formation of ties is spatial propinquity. According to Wimmer, these factors explain a great deal of network homophily networks, and cannot be confused with an actual preference for people of the same category. Wimmer (2013, 142) also points to the influence of balancing mechanisms which include “the tendency of a friendship to be returned (reciprocity) and of friends

of friends to befriend one another (triadic closure)". Regarding the expected reciprocity of a friendship, it is possible that an ethnic minority member believes that a relationship with a fellow ethnic will be more likely returned than one with a majority member. Wimmer, studying Facebook friendships of more than 1,600 students attending a private college in the U.S., finds that "(r)ates of same-race reciprocity and closure are not higher but *lower* than those of racially heterogeneous dyads and triangles" (ibid., 162). Moreover, there are much higher rates of homophily based on other dimensions than race: "Fans of Coldplay and Dave Matthews Band are almost as homophilous as white students. Fans of R&B, hip hop, and rap are more homophilous than both white students and Asian students" (ibid., 169). Most influential is socioeconomic status, spatial propinquity by sharing the same dorm room, and having a shared study subject likewise produce high levels of homophily.

There are hence many factors that influence the formation of ties with members of the same ethnic group, and actual preference is only a small part of the explanation.

Implicitly, these examples already show the importance of foci. Feld pointed to the importance of the places that people organize their daily lives around, such as workplace, or places to spend free-time. Such places are called foci, a "social, psychological, legal, or physical entity around which joint activities are organized" (Feld 1981, 1016). In Wimmer's case, the college presents a focus, McPherson and Smith-Lovin examined the focus of voluntary organizations. The entity of a neighborhood or a family is likewise a focus in Feld's sense. These foci are usually highly structured. That is why individual preference is often overly stressed. Instead, "the processes of focused choice lead to homophily to the extent that people draw their friends from foci, and foci bring homogeneous sets of people together" (Feld 1982, 798). If a focus is very homogenous, the likelihood is high that developing relationships in this focus are between similar people.

Specific ethnic networks?

As pointed out in chapter five, family relations do have an influence on the residential choice process of upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans. The question arises, what

influence and importance these family (and extended kinship) relations have in people's daily lives.

Schweizer et al. examined networks of Anglo-Americans and Hispanics in Costa Mesa, California, and found that for Hispanics, the extended kin network proved to be much more important than for the Anglo-American comparison group (Schweizer, Schnegg, and Berzborn 1998). The kin network also provided a greater range regarding roles since "they cover an extremely wide range of situations under which they are expected to be supportive" (ibid. 16). For example, for Hispanics, close kin such as sons or daughters, as well as husband or wife, were not only listed as people who are important for emotional support, as for Anglos, but also as being important companions. Comparing the findings with another study, the authors draw the conclusion that this emphasis on kin relations is not a specific Hispanic cultural issue but is rather owed to the different circumstances of migrants.

Ethnic networks have been of interest to early urban sociologists. The Chicago School presented ethnic enclaves as the natural, ecological units that a city is made up of (Park & Burgess 1984[1925]; Wirth 1928). Although not doing network analysis in the strict sense, the idea was the same, namely that immigrants have ties to people from the same ethnic group. Mainly as part of assimilation theory, it was assumed that people from the same ethnic group tend to self-segregate, socializing with ethnic fellows, but also working in the ethnic economy. Thereby, scholars often had a negative view of self-segregation as inhibiting integration, also assuming "an inverse relationship between residential segregation and socioeconomic status" (Zhou 1992, 2). Those immigrants who did not manage to 'assimilate' into mainstream society were hence assumed to have a lower social status. In contrast, Zhou (ibid.) has shown how in New York's Chinatown, the Chinese community thrives economically, in spite of high residential segregation and low acculturation. The connection between the existence of an enclave and social mobility can thus not be made that easily. With respect to Turkish immigrants in German cities, the negative side of segregation and networks centered on other Turkish migrants has been the focus of research (Blasius et al. 2008; Friedrichs & Triemer 2009; Gestring et al. 2004).

A drawback of most of these studies is that they hardly pay attention to social differentiation within an ethnic group. In contrast, ethnic minorities are homogenized. That is why prominent studies of migrants' networks such as Gans' urban villagers or Stack's 'All our kin' portray very thick networks of Italian and Blacks, respectively. These, however, are all from a poor background. What Gans (1962, 102) describes for these poorer Italian-Americans is a person-orientation, meaning that "social intercourse is restricted to familiar persons", with little "need to be empathic". This lack of empathic behavior also explains why people have contact to already known people and do not get to know other people – because they have difficulties interpreting actions of unknown people. Only those who are upwardly mobile, who experience a change from the lower to the middle class, become object-oriented and with that more open to forming new contacts. The object-oriented person is able to take on different roles and "can be described as having a dualistic self, which allows him to be sensitive to the actions of others as they become part of himself. He is able to be self-conscious and develops a self-image or sense of identity" (ibid., 101).

In that regard, the Turkish-Germans subject of this study should have a wider, diverse network. Compared to their parents, who migrated to Germany as guest workers, they experienced upward mobility and are in a better socioeconomic position.

Studies, however, on middle class ethnic minorities and their networks, are sparse. The analysis of networks of upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans in Berlin contributes to filling this gap. In line with the theoretical focus on homophily and social closure, I will particularly assess the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the named contacts (for the method, see chapter two) according to their ethnic and social background, while always paying attention to the question of difference according to place, or other important potentially influencing dimensions such as whether or not there are children living in the household.

7.2. Assessing people's networks

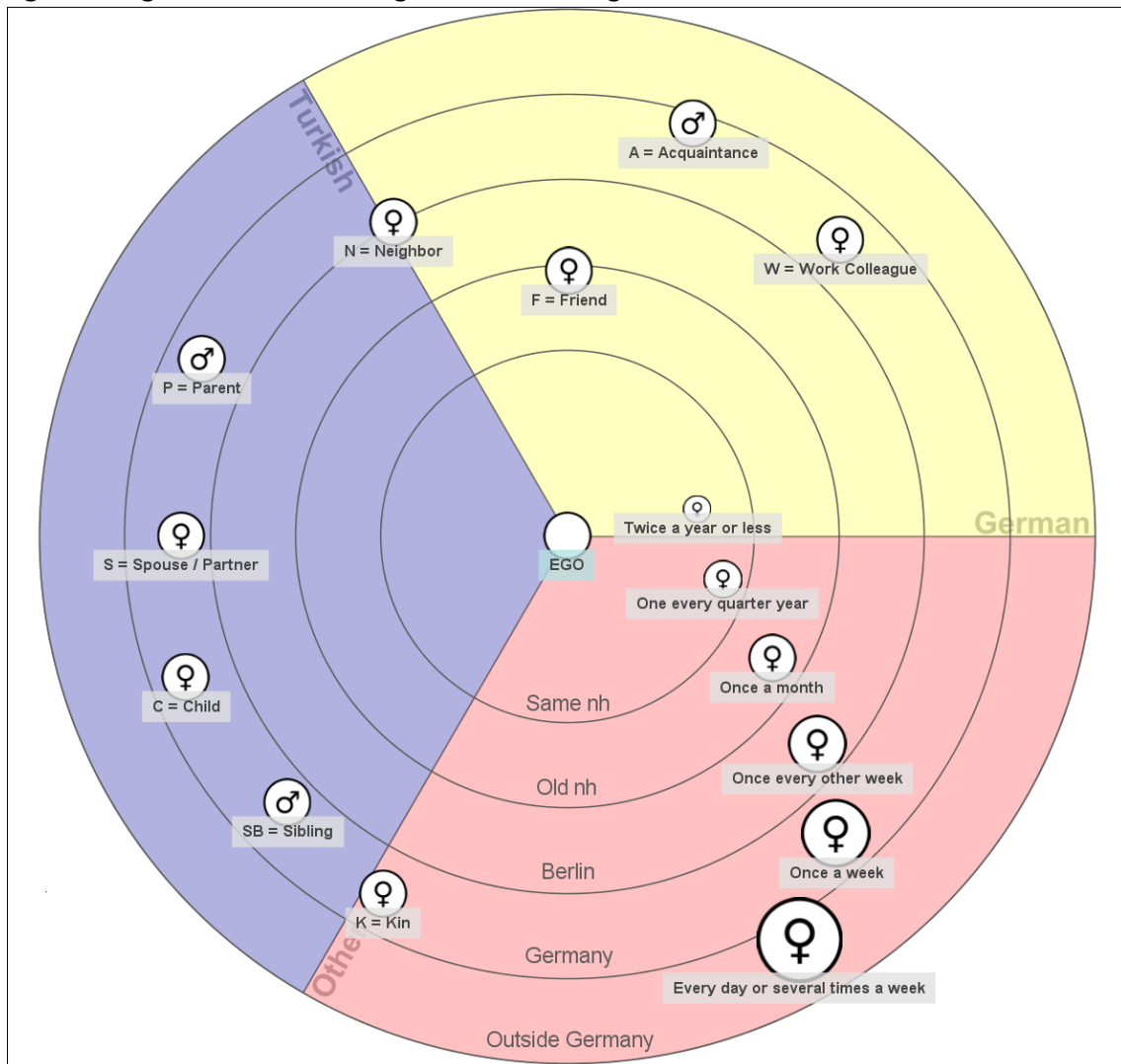
7.2.1. A note on the method

The name generator I used assesses the ego-centered network. Through questions for instrumental and emotional support, ego's alters are gathered. This stands in contrast to studies that try to capture people's entire network, focusing on the density, centrality, or clustering of ties, as for example Marques (2012) has done extensively.

The ties gathered with the help of the name generator present 'useful', instrumental contacts, because the name generator mainly asked for contacts that can be activated when in need of help and support. In addition, it includes the most important people for emotional support. These usually also provide some form of practical support. When assessing the heterogeneity / homogeneity of the networks, as well as the relevance of localness, the reference is always to ties that have supportive functions.

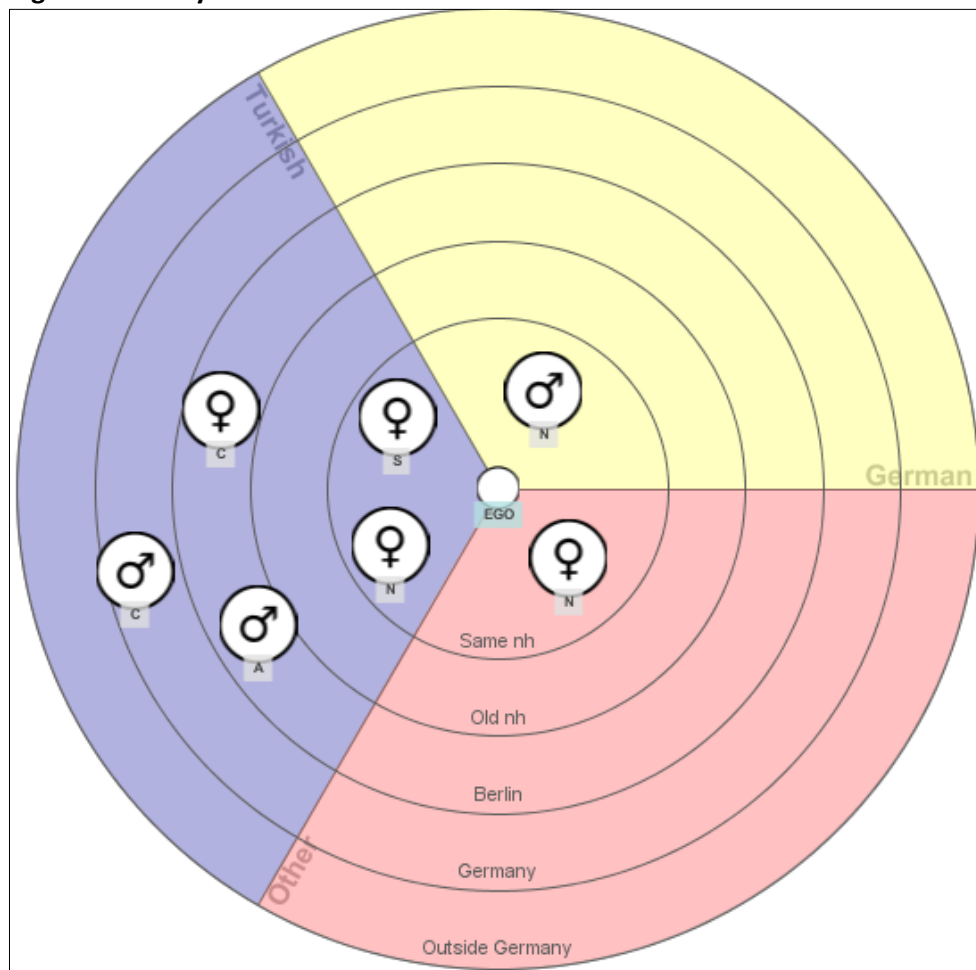
The following figures were created with the network drawing-program *venn maker*. These figures display several dimensions, as graphically described in the following example, which serves as the legend for the network figures. First of all, differentiating by gender, the role is described, including among others the spouse, parent, other kin, friends or work colleagues. The circles display the location of the respective contact, whether the person lives in the same neighborhood, the previous neighborhood (only movers), another place in Berlin or Germany, or in another country. Furthermore, the placing of the contact in the different sectors reflects the contact's ethnic background - native-German, Turkish, or with another ethnic minority background. Lastly, the size of the circle indicating the 'alteri' reflects the importance, measured in contact frequency, ranging from daily/several times a week to less than twice a year.

Figure 1: Legend for the following network drawings



Before analyzing these networks, I want to point out a shortcoming of the method. Name generators are certainly a good instrument to capture and understand patterns of people's networks. It also was a section of the interview that the Turkish-Germans enjoyed a lot, and there were often some comments in the end, such as that they learned something about themselves. At the same time, however, there are flaws in network analysis as well. One example illustrates this. Yurday, owner of a Turkish theater, has the following network:

Figure 2: Yurday's network



We could interpret this network as not very diverse, not made up of many contacts and we would think that Yurday is a person who does things by himself instead of asking other people for help. However, exactly the opposite is the case: Yurday is probably the person with the most extensive network in the sample. In fact, his connectedness is so extensive that it was just impossible for him to name any single contact. When asked who he could ask for help with small repairs in the house, he told me how he would send e-mails to different theatre and parents groups. Asking just one person did not seem natural to him. Two cases among the stayers were similar, those of boxing coach Isin, and of Sibel. The latter one, head of a cosmetic clinic and active in various migrant and political organizations told me that she understood quite well what I was trying to get at, but it simply did not work for her that way. Thinking back to the provision of social capital, public familiarity proved to be crucial and not so

much networks. The Turkish-Germans help out others in various ways, and the people receiving help are not necessarily part of their network. Without having strong or weak ties, but based on encountering each other in an area on a regular basis, public familiarity emerges, which is crucial for a feeling of community (cf. chapter eight). The reactions of Yurday, Isin and Sibel suggest that the same is true for access to social capital. A person may feel part of a community which is not based on a network with weak or strong ties. It is public familiarity that grants access to social capital. For Yurday, the theater group is one of his communities. The groups are for young children, but the parents drop them off and pick them up regularly. These routinized encounters create public familiarity and Yurday would hence ask the parents for help if he needed something. Thus, we have to be very careful in interpreting the network data and always keep in mind how ‘accessible’ this instrument was to the participants. For the interpretation of the following tables and figures, we have to keep in mind that although I have data on 544 contacts, these are still based on 41 cases, which have not been randomly sampled. Hence, any numbers presented here (mainly in cross tabulations) derive from these special cases and they cannot be transferred to or generalized for other Turkish-Germans. The numbers should be seen as preliminary results or tendencies, and give ideas on where to investigate further, rather than as definite facts. Consequently, my approach here is to look at interesting patterns, and from that develop some hypothesis on what may explain these patterns. These possible explanations are substantiated with interview material and closer looks to single networks.

7.2.2. Network homophily and heterophily

Ethnic and Social Diversity in Networks

The networks of the Turkish-Germans are made up of around sixty percent of contacts with a Turkish background, thirty percent with a native-German and roughly ten percent with another ethnic background. The high number of Turkish contacts is not surprising, given that taken together, family and kinship ties account for more than a third of all ties (last column of table 6). Friends as a single category make up most of

the network, with 38.2%. Colleagues from work and acquaintances are the least mentioned categories. Neighbors still account for 11.6% of all contacts, and are hence mentioned as often as partner and children or extended kin.

Table 6: Relationship type, according to ethnic background

	German	Turkish	Other	<i>Total</i>
Partner / Children	16,10%	78,60%	5,40%	56 (10.2%)
Parents / Siblings	4,90%	95,10%	0,00%	82 (15.1%)
Extended Kin	13,30%	81,70%	5,00%	60 (11.0%)
Friends	34,10%	51,90%	13,90%	208 (38.2%)
Colleagues	47,80%	37,00%	15,20%	46 (8.5%)
Acquaintances	27,60%	65,50%	6,90%	29 (5.3%)
Neighbors	68,30%	22,20%	9,50%	63 (11.6%)
<i>Total</i>	30,30%	60,50%	9,20%	544

For family and extended kin, there is a difference between those who have children at home and those who do not. Those with children in kindergarten or school age rely more on help, for example to take care of the children – one question of the name generator. For that, the extended kinship network is important: of 61 contacts named for this generator, 45 are the respective person's parents, siblings or extended kin. The importance of the extended kinship for support is reflected in the network, and for those with children at home, a third of contacts are comprised of parents, siblings and kin, whereas this amounts to only 18.5% for those without children. Selim, the café-owner from Kreuzberg-North who now lives in Wilmersdorf, consciously moved there because of his wife's kin network in the neighborhood. With two young children, it was important to be geographically close to people who can help and take of the children from time to time. Kamer has grown up in Kreuzberg-North, but in the course of marriage moved to Rudow, at the Southern outskirts of Neukölln. When the first child was on the way, however, they decided to move back to Kreuzberg-North, where his and his wife's parents, as well as some cousins, live. The reasoning behind it was that

daily support with the child is much easier and convenient if they lived close to these family members.

S: When I started self-employment 18 years ago, my parents showed a lot of support. Not financially, but for the children, so that everything was okay at home. They took care of the meals, took the children to the kindergarten, and picked them up. I didn't have to take care of that. I just had to take care of my work. That's a big advantage.

S: Yes, yes. That's Turkish mentality. You also live together. That provides a much better footing ('Halt') for the children.

Figure 3: Özcan's network

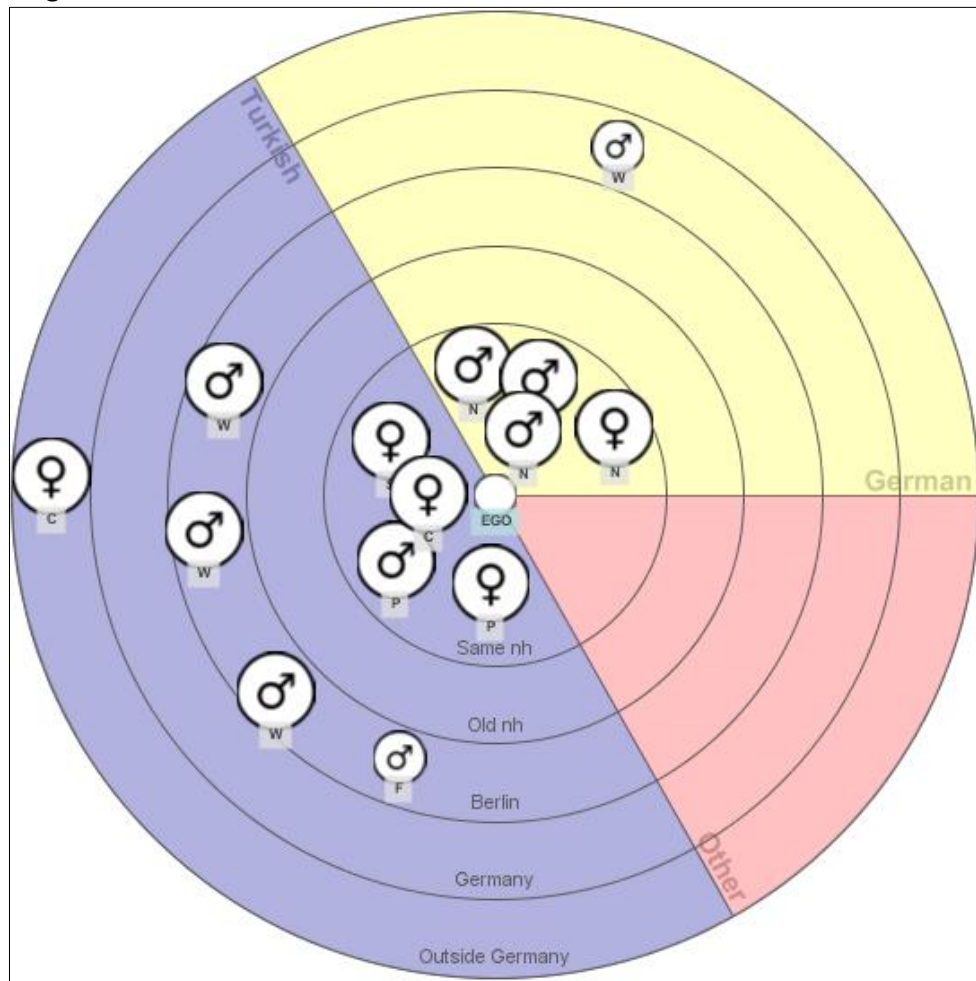
He has moved from Neukölln to Lankwitz, with his wife and his three children. Two of the children are grown up already, but the 'latecomer' is just seven years old. Özcan, who we know as the golf-teacher for disadvantaged youths, and who has managed to draw a large part of his extended family to Lankwitz, has a clear local support network. For the movers, having such a high share of kin – including his parents, a sibling and extended family – in the same neighborhood is unusual. For him, the advantage is certainly that he has his sister, mother and father, as well as a neighbor, in his immediate surrounding who help out with taking care of the child. This is even more important since he, his wife and the two grown up children are working full-time.

Upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, many of whom would have the financial means to 'outsource' child care, still opt for the support of the family, if that is possible (cf. also Hanhörster 2012). This corresponds to the Turkish-Germans' expressed importance of the (extended) family, which again they perceive as a positive part of Turkish culture (cf. chapter four). The support is reciprocal – the (grown up) children care about their parents – for example by finding them an apartment close by, and they in return take care of their grand-children.

Regarding ethnic diversity of the Turkish-Germans' networks, it is not surprising that most of the family members, including extended kin have a Turkish background. Most ethnically heterogeneous are the categories of friends and work colleagues, which both have a mix of German, Turkish, and other ethnic contacts. Within the most often named category of friends, half of all contacts have a Turkish background, which however also includes other Turkish-Germans, who may as well have a German citizenship. The category including the highest share of native-Germans and the lowest share of Turkish contacts is that of neighbors.

Nizami's network is a good illustration. Together with his wife, he lives in a garden colony in Charlottenburg. Among his local contacts, those to people with a Turkish background are entirely comprised of family members – his parents, the child and his spouse. Those to people with (native-) German background, on the other hand, are comprised of neighbors.

Figure 4: Nizami's network



That almost two thirds of colleagues from work have an ethnic background other than Turkish points to the possibility that upward mobility is connected to a decreased importance of the ethnic economy. Fong and Isajiw (2000) have stressed the potentially negative effect of the ethnic economy on the formation of inter-racial friendships. Owners may prefer to hire other migrants, or the network of suppliers and clientele may be constituted of co-ethnics. Being active in the ethnic economy hence contributes to social closure regarding the ethnic diversity of a network. In the case of upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans, it seems that the ethnic economy does not play a major role. Instead, two thirds of contacts from work have a native-German or 'other' ethnic background. In the narratives of the Turkish-Germans, however, colleagues do not play a major role. In contrast to family members, friends, and neighbors, work colleagues only come up in the network generating question. It seems that their

relationship is primarily instrumental. Colleagues were primarily named for discussing problems at work. They did not come up much for other name generating questions. Interaction thus seems to be confined to the work place, centering on professional issues. That is also confirmed by the activity index, as we will see below.

In general, friends, work colleagues and particularly neighbors are the ‘drivers’ of ethnic diversity, for which the share of native-Germans as well as ethnic ‘others’ is higher than average. This is a first hint against the homophily-thesis, which assumes that particularly those contacts which a person can choose (in contrast to family and kin) are with similar people – e.g. regarding ethnic background. One might argue that you cannot choose your neighbors, but since the name generator asked for people you turn to for support, it includes an element of choice.

For interactions that go beyond brief encounters, such as asking someone for support, an assumed ‘sameness’ might be even more important. People want to be able to predict what happens in interactions (Goffman 1970; Simone 2010), and predictability often rests on visible cues. Ethnic background can be one such clue, which is why promoters of the homophily thesis would predict high ethnic homogeneity in a person’s support network. This is not the case, and it seems that other factors are more influential than ethnic background.

Table 7: Education and ethnic background of ties

	German	Turkish	Other
Without degree	2,7%	14,6%	8,7%
Medium	19,7%	35,7%	15,2%
Higher	21,8%	20,5%	19,6%
College	55,8%	29,2%	56,5%
Total (N = 501)	147	308	46

The educational background of the contacts named reflects the process of upward mobility of the Turkish-Germans. Roughly fifty percent of the Turkish contacts have no or a medium (lower secondary) school degree. Particularly the Turkish-Germans’ parents who migrated from Turkey as guest workers often do not have a degree. They and extended kin cluster in the category of medium education. Among the roughly fifty percent of Turkish contacts with higher education (A-levels) or a college degree, most

are friends. Given that more than two thirds of the interviewed Turkish-Germans have the A-levels (5) or a university degree (23), it becomes clear that from the educational background, they are more similar to their native-German and ethnic 'other' contacts than to those with a Turkish background. Socializing with Turks often means to socialize with people from a lower social background, whereas socializing with Germans and 'others' means socializing with educationally similar people.

As shown in chapter five, social class, and particularly the reference to the middle class do not play a major role for the Turkish-Germans' self-identification. Nevertheless, there is some awareness about the educational background of one's friends. Sati, thinking about her education and employment trajectory, reflects on the consequences on friendship formation:

Well, I somehow did belong to the working class, but meanwhile, my circle of friends, due to the studies, but also due to my own development which is related to that, well, my circle of friends is gentrified. It's more the bourgeois intellectuals ('Bildungsbürgertum'). There are still some outliers, but those I socialize with, outside the family, they are bourgeois intellectuals. Definitely.

Sati refers to gentrification, a process of urban change, but uses it as a characterization of her circle of friends. Other Turkish-Germans were not as aware of the social-class background of their friends. In that sense, the network questions were followed by reflections and comments such as they did not know before that so many of their friends had a university degree (cf. chapter two).

We see here already that the notion of homophily becomes complicated as soon as we take into account more than just one category, by combining ethnic and educational background, for example. The networks contain a high share of people with a Turkish background. Saying that the Turkish-Germans hence like to socialize with similar people, however, overlooks the dimension of education. In those terms, the Turkish alteri are rather different to the respective ego. Reversely, those contacts which are similar in educational background are mostly dissimilar in ethnic background. For the networks of the Turkish-Germans, then, ethnic homophily often involves social heterophily, whereas social homophily often means ethnic diversity.

Strength of ties

Wellman (1990, 349) introduced the differentiation between the sheer number of ties in a network and “number of contacts (interactions) that Egos have with the active members of the network”. His aim was to point out that for the number of ties, spatial proximity does not play a role, whereas for active contacts, the local context is important, and most active contacts are local ones.

The differentiation I analyze in the following is not the same as Wellman’s who was mostly interested in the importance of the ‘local’ for ties versus contacts (interaction). I will look at the difference between the frequency of contact and number of shared activities, indicating the person’s spheres of sociability (cf. Bichir & Marques 2012). After the network generating questions, I asked the participants to name the contacts with which they share certain activities. These activities include visiting each other, eating together, going to bars, restaurants, concerts, (movie) theaters or museums, or go shopping. For the activity index, I added the number of shared activities.

Table 8: Activity Index, according to relationship type

Activity Index	Own family	Parents & Siblings	Extended Kin	Friends	Work Colleagues	Acquaintances	Neighbors
0-1	5.4%	17.1%	21.7%	20.2%	37.0%	48.3%	42.9%
2-3	7.1%	30.5%	35.0%	17.3%	41.3%	37.9%	34.9%
4-5	26.8%	31.7%	18.3%	25.5%	19.6%	6.9%	19.0%
6-7	42.9%	12.2%	10.0%	26.4%	2.2%	6.9%	1.6%
8-9	17.9%	8.5%	15.0%	10.6%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%
Total	56	82	60	208	46	29	63

We see, as expected that people hardly do free-time activities with neighbors, acquaintances, or colleagues from work. Most activities are shared with the ‘own family’ which mainly refers to the spouse (children were hardly named, mostly because they were too young). For friends, the index is quite evenly distributed across the categories, except for the highest one (10%), indicating that many, but certainly not all activities are shared with friends.

The picture for the frequency of contacts looks different. What is striking in general is the high contact frequency across all relationship types. To almost 56% of the 543 ties,

contact frequency is daily or several times a week. For no relationship type is the predominant contact frequency less than once a week.

Table 9: Contact frequency according to relationship type

	daily	several times a week	once a week	once every other week	once a month	Four times a year or less
Own family	94.6%	1.8%	1.8%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Parents & Siblings	30.5%	25.6%	24.4%	14.6%	1.2%	3.7%
Extended Kin	11.7%	35.0%	16.7%	15.0%	8.3%	13.3%
Friend	15.9%	27.1%	18.4%	19.8%	9.2%	9.6%
Work Colleagues	41.3%	32.6%	4.3%	10.9%	2.2%	8.7%
Acquaintances	17.2%	34.5%	6.9%	13.8%	10.3%	17.2%
Neighbor	17.5%	39.7%	14.3%	11.1%	12.7%	4.8%
Total (N =543)	153	149	82	79	37	43

For example, with roughly 75% of all work colleagues named by the Egos, the contact frequency is very high, with daily contact or several times a week. With 57.2% of all neighbors, contact is several times a week or daily.

This supports Wellman's assertion relationships differ in quality. A low activity index for neighbors, but also work colleagues (both of which Wellman calls local contacts) does not imply a low frequency of contact. The spatial proximity, the localness, of neighbors or work colleagues leads to a high frequency, people meet often, share some small talk and moments of sociability. However, people do not meet their neighbors or work colleagues to share free-time activities. Ties may not be strong enough so that people want spend leisure time activities together, or it is because people do not engage in these activities together that the ties remain weak.

The low activity index with neighbors, nevertheless, should not hide their still high importance in emotional terms. Forrest and Kearns' (2001) observe that although people's ties within a neighborhood are mostly weak, they are highly important for feeling at home and feeling secure, as well as for practical and social support. There is not necessarily a large difference between locals and cosmopolitans (cf. Hannerz 1990), since "even cosmopolitans it seems spend time with neighbours" (ibid., 2133). And so

do the upwardly mobile, self-proclaimed Turkish-Germans, who emphasize being cosmopolitan, or at least bi-cultural.

Marques' research on people's networks and spheres of sociability (Marques 2012) confirms that work colleagues, acquaintances, neighbors and extended kin do not seem to figure highly. For people living in circumstances of poverty, as his research subjects in Sao Paulo, neighbors and extended kin play a more important role (cf. Bichir & Marques 2012). The Turkish-Germans in this study only share few activities with extended kin, which may be a sign of their upward mobility. They may still offer some support, but do not play a major role in daily life. In that same sense, however, the low importance of the sphere of work contradicts common reasoning. The Turkish-Germans seem to be in a middle position between the "worst social situations (.) associated with highly homophilic sociability patterns and highly local networks" and "the best social situations (...) associated with middle-size and non-local networks and with sociability concentrated on organizational spheres" (ibid., 30).

Nevertheless, taking only into account contact frequency to work colleagues and neighbors supports Wellman's conclusion for network analysis, that "we cannot base an analysis of community solely on the neighborhood because so many intimate and active ties are not local. Yet the predominance of frequent contact with neighbors and workmates should lead network analysts to bring proximity back into their investigations of community, along with the existing criteria of intimacy and supportiveness" (Wellman 1990, 353).

Another indicator of the difference between the quantity and quality of ties is the closeness index. This index combines three dimensions of the network characteristics, namely whether the person feels close to the person named, whether the contact is among the five people most liked within the network, and whether or not they share values. The index hence ranges from zero to three. The pattern is similar to the activity index. First of all, among spouses and children, all but nine percent are very close (index 2 or 3). For parents and siblings, the index is still rather high, with almost three fourths falling in the two highest categories. For kin, the picture looks different. Almost three fifths of kin cluster in the two lowest categories.

Table 10: Closeness index according to relationship type

Closeness Index	Spouse / children	Parents & Siblings	Extended Kin	Friends	Work Colleagues	Acquaintances	Neighbors
0	0.0%	12.2%	43.3%	30.3%	63.0%	51.7%	68.3%
1	8.9%	14.6%	35.0%	33.2%	17.4%	41.4%	25.4%
2	21.4%	39.0%	15.0%	16.8%	10.9%	6.9%	3.2%
3	69.6%	34.1%	6.7%	19.7%	8.7%	0.0%	3.2%
Total	56	82	60	208	46	29	63

Those contacts with the lowest score are neighbors, work colleagues, and acquaintances, the latter of which are people that the Turkish-Germans know more superficially. For these relationship types, contact frequency is still high, and half of the contacts or more are met or otherwise contacted more than once a week. However, similar to the activity index, having high contact frequencies does not imply being close to a person. Very few ties to neighbors, colleagues or acquaintances are considered to be close in any of the three included dimensions.

On the other hand, you can feel close to a person without having a high contact frequency. Savage et al. (2005, 148) for example inquired about people's best friends and found that they are mostly "insignificant in ones (!) actual social life yet still (.) symbolically and emotionally important".

The extended kin network has only medium relevance for shared activities and closeness. In contrast to studies positing a strong reliance, particularly of ethnic minorities, on kin, the data here suggests that this reliance is not so strong for upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans. Although kin are very important for practical support, such as helping with small repairs in the house, or taking care of children, the contact frequency is low, and neither are many activities shared, nor is the closeness index very high. In contrast, more than forty percent of kin named are not considered close at all, and around one third are considered close in one dimension only. This questions the strict separation of strong and weak ties, or at least the ready-made, quasi-automatic categorization of kinship ties as strong ties. In the frequency of contact, the activity and the closeness index, they more resemble ties to work

colleagues, acquaintances or neighbors – typically perceived as weak ties - than to those to the nuclear family or friends.

7.2.3. Networks and place: The importance of foci in the neighborhood

In the following analyses I will assess in more detail differences in the network diversity of movers and stayers. Since movers and stayers live in socioeconomically different neighborhoods, differences in network composition can suggest whether or not the neighborhood actually makes a difference to networks. Next to the socioeconomic status, I will also look at differences arising from another neighborhood characteristic, namely whether is an urban or more residential area.

From chapter four, we know that an important part of the Turkish-Germans' identification is with a form of community life. That does not only relate to a high family and kin orientation, but also to forms of community through public familiarity, such as regularly encountering the same people in the streets. The ideal neighborhood, for the Turkish-Germans, is thus one with a form of community life, which again they mostly find in urban neighborhoods.

Maybe one best sees the value of an urban environment when looking at comments that describe the exact opposite. Atalay who lives in a lively area in Kreuzberg-North talks about how he would never move to the more suburban Berlin-Zehlendorf:

A friend of mine lives there. I wouldn't want to live there, sorry. Terrible. The area is dead. They only have a few things, the people are so... It's no good.

The contrast to such 'dead areas' – mainly residential neighborhoods, lacking public or third places (Oldenburg 1997) – are more urban areas. Selami describes his neighborhood in Kreuzberg-South:

Now, I live in Kreuzberg, close to the park (...), there is life, always. (...) Well, there are many shops and bars, there is always life, urban life, let me put it like this. In the summer, life takes place outside, in the streets, and that is great.

The other Turkish-Germans share this taste for urban areas and distaste for more residential, 'anonymous' (Varol, mover) areas. As we will see in more detail in the next chapter, living in more residential neighborhoods often comes along with low place

identification and attachment. For now, the question is whether or not the place of residence – residential versus urban – makes a difference for network composition.

Local Ties

Differentiating according to movers and stayers, we find that the latter have a higher share of local contacts in their networks than movers, whose contacts are more scattered across Berlin neighborhoods – including their old neighborhood (accounting, however, for only five percent) - and outside Berlin.

Table 11: Local ties, for movers and stayers

	Stayers	Movers
Same neighborhood	43.2%	31.0%
Berlin	47.7%	57.0%
Outside Berlin	9.1%	12.0%
N = 543	243	300

Table 12: Local ties, according to residential and urban

	Residential	Urban
Same neighborhood	33.5%	38.2%
Berlin	55.8%	51.2%
Outside Berlin	10.7%	10.7%
N = 543	197	346

The pattern looks different – more balanced – when differentiating according to whether the participants live in urban or residential areas. Those in urban areas have a slightly higher share of local ties and a slightly lower share of ties in other Berlin neighborhoods than those in residential neighborhoods. Comparing these two tables indicates that we have to look at two kinds of neighborhood differences – one is the socioeconomic status, the other one the built environment, hence whether it is urban or residential.

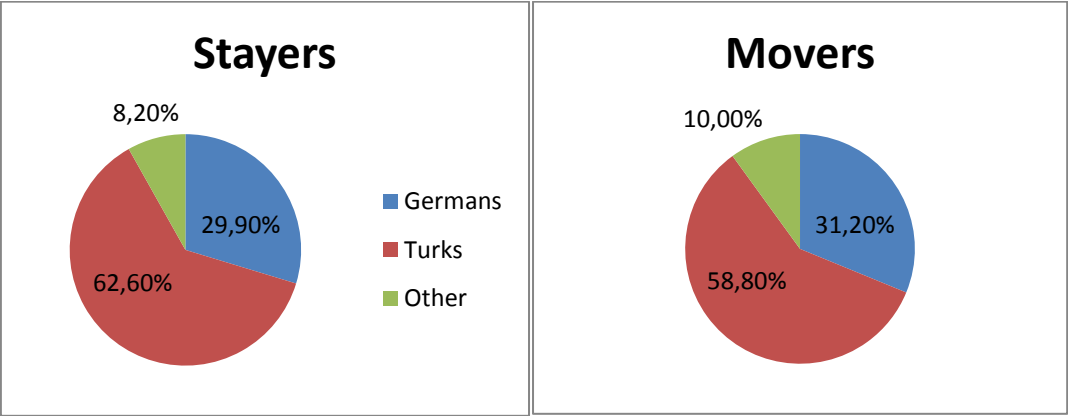
Having established these two kinds of differentiation, I will now turn to the ethnic and social class diversity of the Turkish-Germans' networks. The first section deals with ethnic diversity. To elaborate on the emerging differences in network composition, the networks of two movers, Dalim and Varol, will be presented in more detail. The second

section then deals with network diversity based on social class. Here, again, I will illustrate the general findings by elaborating on a single participant's network.

Ethnic diversity

The socioeconomic status of the neighborhoods in which the Turkish-Germans live does not make a big difference for the networks' ethnic composition (figure 4). However, other neighborhood characteristics may influence the networks' ethnic composition.

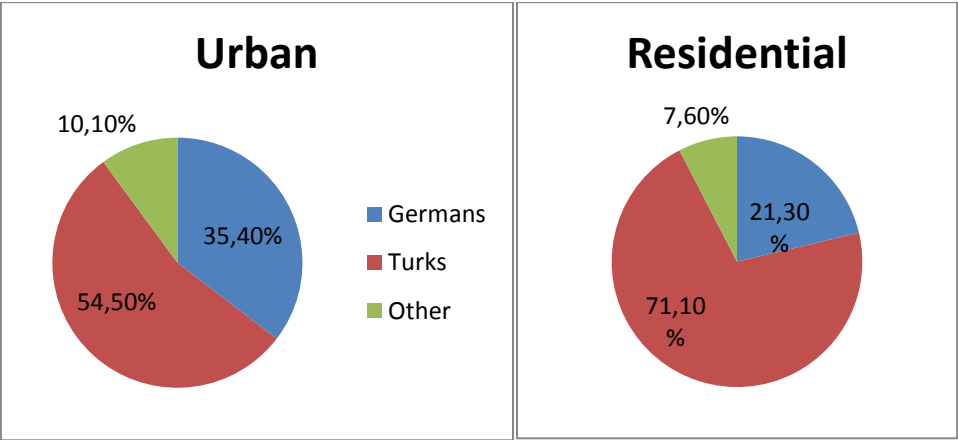
Figure 5: Ethnic network diversity for movers and stayers



N = 544 (Stayers: 243, Movers: 301)

Indeed, the difference in ethnic composition of the networks becomes more pronounced when separated according to urban and residential, instead of movers and stayers.

Figure 6: Ethnic network diversity, acc. to urban / residential neighborhood

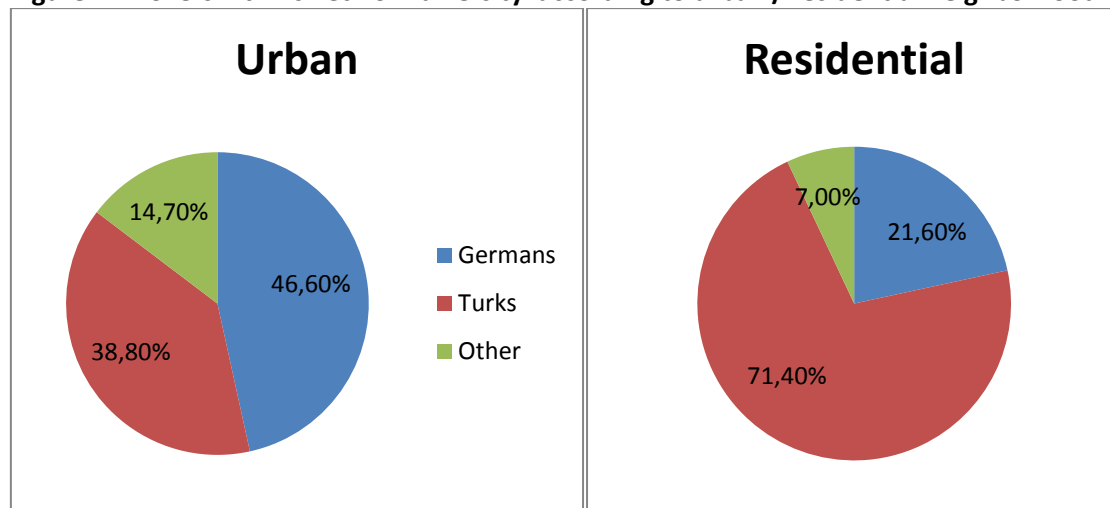


N = 5430 (Urban: 346, Residential: 197)

Those people living in a more residential area have, in total, fewer ties with native-Germans in their network, but more than two thirds of ties are with Turks. Those living in more urban areas have a network made up of fewer ties with other Turks, and correspondingly more ties with native-Germans and ethnic others. This counterintuitive finding becomes even more pronounced when we only look at the movers. Among the stayers, only two people live in a more residential environment. It makes sense therefore to look at the same figure for *movers* only.

The movers living in an urban neighborhood have more than twice as many contacts to native-Germans, as well as twice as many contacts to people with another ethnic minority background than those living in residential areas. The latter in contrast have a network made up of more than seventy percent Turks, compared to almost forty percent of the Turkish-Germans living in an urban area.

Figure 7: Movers: Ethnic network diversity according to urban / residential neighborhood



N = 301 (Urban: 116, Residential: 185)

Again, this pattern includes all contacts, not just local ones. Looking at local ties only (not shown), the difference remains. For the Turkish-German movers living in a residential area, 36.5% of local contacts are with Germans, and 52.4% with Turkish migrants. For the movers in an urban area, 63.3% of local contacts are with Germans, and only 23.3% with Turkish people. Since the residential neighborhoods are characterized, among other things, by a high share of native-Germans, and the urban ones by an ethnically diverse population, we would expect the opposite pattern, based

on exposure. As we will see in detail in chapter eight, the movers in residential areas often face hostility from their native-German neighbors. Their wish to develop ties is not reciprocated, which is why their networks are ethnically homogeneous. The movers living in urban neighborhoods, in contrast, live in ethnically diverse areas and this diversity is reflected in the network, with a predominance of ties to native-Germans.

The differentiation between urban and residential is a subjective one, based on the Turkish-Germans' view of their neighborhood. The emerging pattern is certainly worth further investigation. The results show that the neighborhood matters indeed. But it is not exposure to other ethnic groups that influences ethnic diversity in a network, but whether the area is an urban or residential one.

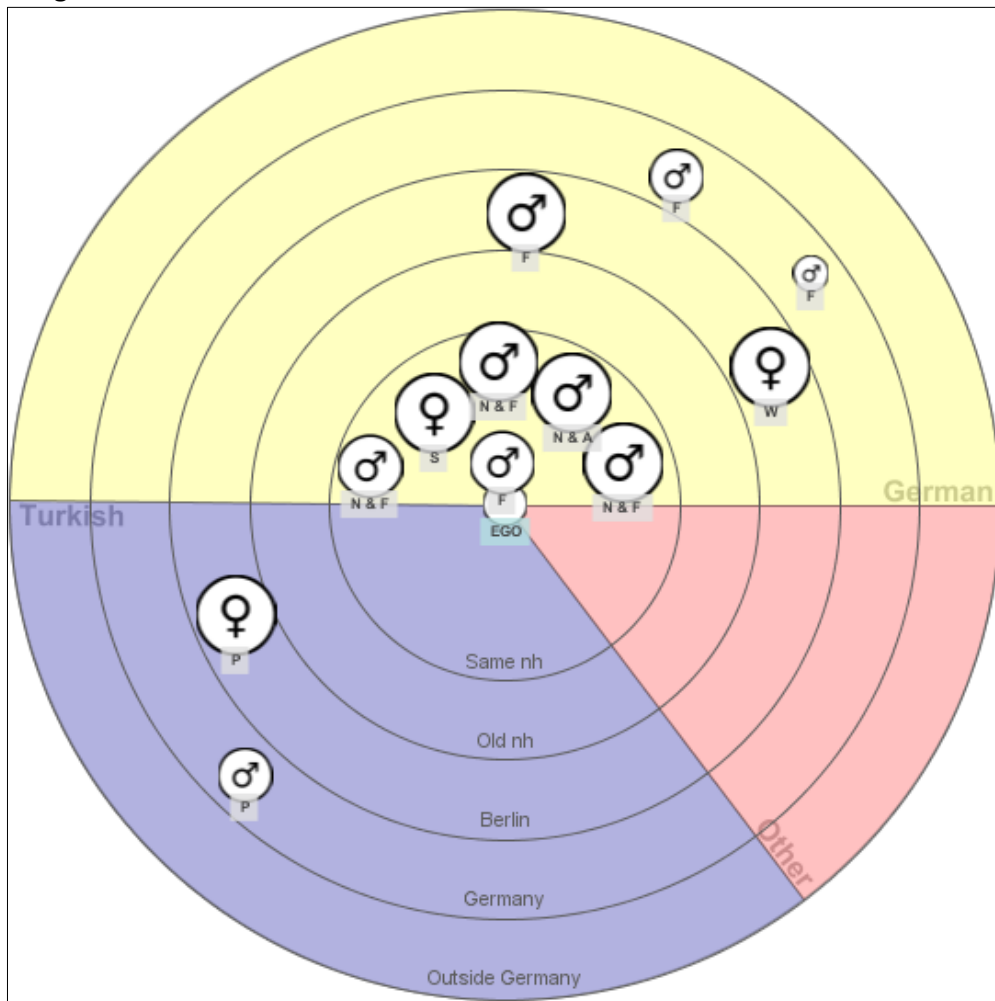
In reality, there is a continuum from residential to urban. As illustration I will show two networks from people who present the extreme case of living in an urban and a residential area: Dalim and Varol. These two are similar in socioeconomic terms, they are both married and both have two children in school age.

Dalim, a 47 year old owner of an agency for the brokerage of bi-cultural media hosts lives in an urban neighborhood in Wilmersdorf, an area of which he is very fond:

Well, it's a nicely bourgeois, regenerating area. And we fit in there well and we like living there. It's central. The schools are good. And it is a Kiez. We have the Bismarckplatz on the one side, and a couple of hundred meters further is Lindenplatz. Which is a very nice square, with the playground, the church, the café, bistro. Beautiful.

So Dalim is very happy in his present neighborhood. Neither symbolically nor practically does he use his old neighborhood in the North of Wedding, where he grew up and lived until his mid-twenties – except for going to his longtime tax accountant once a year, who still lives there. Dalim is particularly fond of the two squares, including the many places where he can meet his neighbors, some of which have turned into friends, as his network shows.

Figure 8: Dalim's network



Among the people Dalim feels close to, and also talks about personally important issues, two are his neighbors, which he only met after moving into the neighborhood. There were no previous ties, so the neighbors turned to friends through locally based interactions. The neighbors he interacts with are all German. That Dalim has no friends in the network with a Turkish background is an exception compared to the other Turkish-Germans. It certainly does not imply that he does not have any Turkish friends. It rather shows the importance of local contacts in daily life. The network generator, again, mainly assessed access to resources via social relations. Dalim was successful in that he found a support network in close spatial proximity. Due to his lifestyle, his personal development, which differs from most of the Turkish migrants he grew up

with, he does not have any friends from childhood that he considers important. In contrast, he picks his friends very carefully, particularly Turkish ones:

If I look, the guys I grew up with, (...) what they are doing or not doing, that's a different world, I don't feel comfortable there. (...) They took old [Turkish] values and live them. And I just can't apply them for myself. And if I move within that group, the way that I am, they can't handle that. And if I try to be more the way they are, then I can't handle it. (...) And most Turks that I know (...) are very open people, who settled here and who... I don't want to say, think like Germans. They aren't. I'm also Turkish, I feel like a Turk. But I just don't match the cliché of a Turk, to what most people think.

Dalim feels that he is Turkish – at least part of him – and thus values contact to other people with a Turkish family background. However, he is forthright about that he would not have contact with Turkish person for the sole reason that the person is Turkish. In contrast, he avoids people with a Turkish background who seem to be too traditional, holding on to values that he does not share. Within his neighborhood, there are people who share his values, and who are all native-German. This comes rather out of chance, not out of an avoidance of Turkish migrants.

A main reason that his neighbor actually turned into friends was their openness. Dalim thinks of himself as very progressive – his wife has the steady, well-paying job, whereas he is self-employed and more flexible so that he mainly takes care of the kids, for example. Although he believes that this progressiveness makes him different from other Turkish migrants, he still adheres to some practices that he attributes to his Turkish background. He is very fond of those practices and tries to share them with his German friends in the neighborhood:

Well there is this typical German garden-fence mentality. You really have it that people say 'this is mine'; and I only experience it with German families that if you knock at somebody's door, because you want to borrow something, that the door remains the barrier. That is unthinkable for me. I would say 'come in for a bit', and then you see what the person needs and you get it. (...) But I think that I made it pretty well in my inner circle of friends, they don't do that anymore when I am at the door. And they don't do it anymore with other people.

The ties he has with native-Germans still allow him to stress the part of his bi-cultural identity that he considers very important. That Dalim was able to develop such close ties to some of his fellow residents is probably also a consequence of sharing many

different foci with the same people. He mostly takes the daughters to school and picks them up. This means a high frequency of the foci 'school'. Since other parents from the neighborhood similarly liked socializing, they interacted much and friendships between families developed – not only for the children, but also for him and his wife. Small (2009) has shown how the foci of a child-care center facilitates the development of ties, due to its regulated times of bringing and picking up the children and the repeated interactions that consequently develop. He points out that “organizations can institutionally perform much of the “work” required to sustain strong friendships. When institutional conditions sustain a friendship, the burden of maintenance inevitably shifts” (ibid., 87). If the parents use even more foci together, such as for after-school activities, the opportunities to form longer-lasting friendships are even greater. According to Pettigrew (1998, 76), the prospect of developing actual friendships, not just superficial ties, makes people cross boundaries: “constructive contact relates more closely to long-term close relationships than to initial acquaintanceship”. When people think that contact remains superficial, they may not engage in the burden of crossing boundaries, which is connected to insecurities about how the other person might react and behave. Hence, ““friendship potential” is an essential (...) condition for positive intergroup contact effects that generalize” (ibid., 76) beyond the one person. The importance of foci – institutions – within a neighborhood where people can meet, was also confirmed by Nast and Blokland (2014), who stress that “mixture is more interactive in institutional settings than in neighbourhoods”. They showed how this applies to social mixture, whereas Dalim’s example shows that this can also be true for ethnic mix.

In stark contrast to Dalim’s experience is that of lawyer Varol, 42 years old, who moved to Reinickendorf in order to find a good (educational) environment to raise his children. He describes the neighborhood as very residential, dominated by conservative native-Germans who are not exactly fond of having Turkish neighbors. Even after 13 years of living in the neighborhood, he does not feel he belongs there,

but instead misses his old neighborhood in Wedding. Varol particularly complains about the lacking relations between residents:

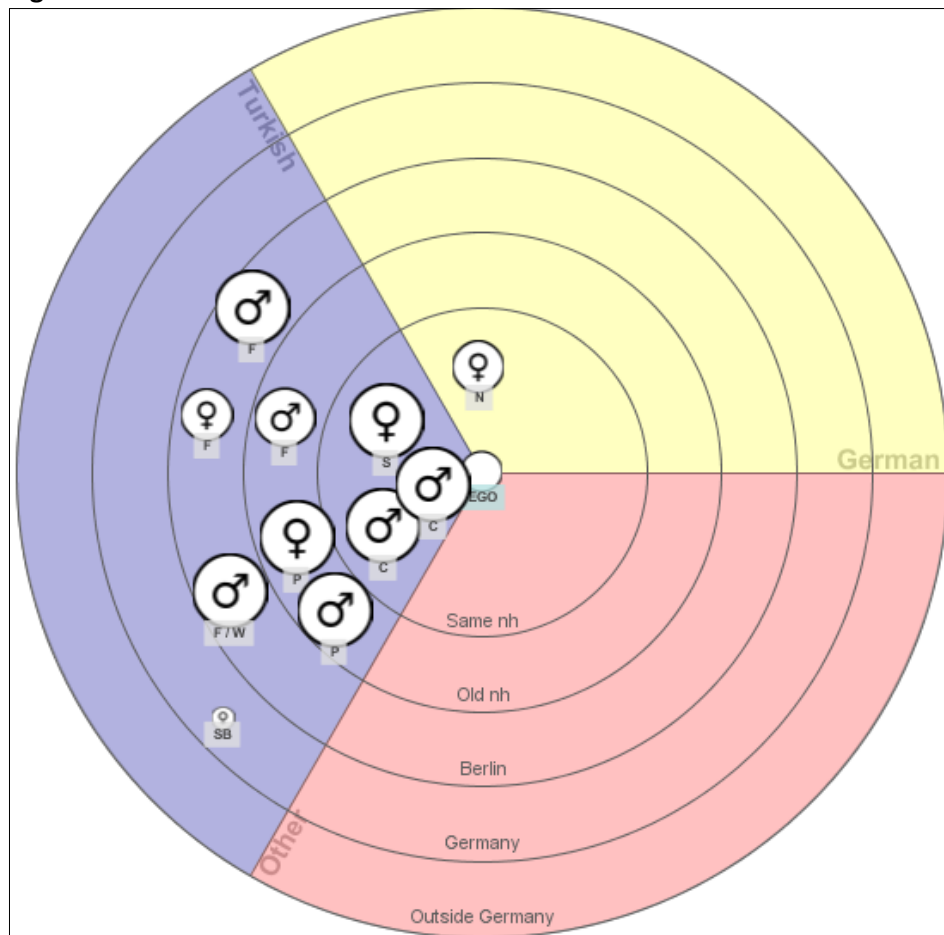
V: That [good relations] is missing in Reinickendorf. There, you are, how can I put it, more anonymous. (...)

I: But do you know any families who live there?

V: Yes, we do know some. But we don't visit each other. You did that maybe once or twice, but not anymore. As I said, they all want to seal themselves off.

Even Varol's initial attempts to establish contact with neighbors were not reciprocated. After a first or second visit, people stuck to themselves again. Within the neighborhood, Varol has therefore not managed to establish any more stable, longer-lasting relationships, let alone any friendships.

Figure 9: Varol's network



The graphic shows that Varol's network is ethnically homogenous. All but one of the contacts named have a Turkish background. His old neighborhood still plays an important role as his parents and a friend still live there. Besides, he has other Turkish

friends in Berlin that are also important to him, indicated by contact. Within the neighborhood, there is only one person he could call on for support – and this person is negligible regarding contact frequency. Although Varol's neighborhood, just as Dalim's, contains a high share of native-German residents, and both Turkish-Germans generally value good relations with their neighbors, the networks look very different. Dalim has managed to develop a more heterogeneous network, with 'dissimilar' people, many of whom live in spatial proximity, whereas Varol did not manage to build an ethnically diverse network. Lacking foci, as well as prejudiced residents, are a reason for that – a topic that will be further elaborated on in the next chapter.

For pure exposure and the opportunity for contact, there should not be any differences between Dalim's and Varol's ethnic diversity in their networks. There is not even a difference in socio-economic status between the native-Germans and the Turkish-Germans, which might be a reason to avoid contact (Allport 1979; Blokland & van Eijk 2010; Pettigrew 1998). And the residents probably have similar concerns, namely to raise their children in a good environment and a good school – which is where these overlapping interests should become obvious due to the repeated interaction. But Varol does not even have contact to other parents because they apparently do not reciprocate his wish for contact.

For ethnic diversity, there hence needs to be more than exposure. The neighborhood needs to contain foci that people use together. If such foci exist, the question of social closure arises. Dalim's fellow residents seem to be very open socially, in contrast to Varol's who are very closed. Ethnic homogeneity, in Varol's case, does not arise out of a taste for ethnically similar people, but from an inability to find access to the circle of his native-German neighbors.

A flaw in most studies dealing with, or being based on, homophily, is that they focus on the taste for similar people, and not on boundary drawing from other groups. Without background information, we would interpret Varol's network as a clear example of a person with Turkish family background who prefers to socialize with other Turkish migrants. From his story, however, we know that his wish to socialize with other people – not fellow migrants, but fellow residents – remains unfulfilled, due to the

strict boundaries these other people have drawn. Other Turkish-Germans, who also live or have lived in residential areas with a high share of native-Germans, such as Enginalp or Lacin, share this experience. These experiences, which are partly a consequence of the native-German fellow residents' racist attitudes towards people with a Turkish background, will be the main topic of the following chapter.

Social Class diversity

The two networks presented also hint at the class make-up, indicated by level of education, and what role the neighborhood may play for this composition. Again, the degree of urbanity has more influence on the network composition than the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood, as often assumed, for example in neighborhood effect studies (cf. Slater 2013). If that was the case we would see a clear difference in the networks' class-diversity between movers and stayers. There are indeed some differences between movers and stayers, but not in the expected direction.

Table 13: Educational level of contacts, for movers and stayers

	Stayers	Movers
Without degree	8.8%	12.0%
Medium education	28.8%	29.5%
Higher education	21.7%	20.0%
College	40.7%	38.5%
N = 501	226	275

Although the differences in percentage points are not very large, an interesting and unexpected pattern emerges. Movers have more contacts to people with no or low education than stayers. The stayers, in contrast, have more people with Abitur or with a college degree in their networks. We would have expected that people living in socioeconomically advantaged areas have more possibilities to also develop contacts to people with higher education. Apparently, however, stayers are 'more successful' in that, even though they live in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas.

Adding the dimension of the locality of the contacts, we find further differences. The socioeconomic status of the neighborhood is reflected in the educational level of local contacts. Within the same neighborhood, movers have a higher share of contacts with higher education or college (two thirds) than stayers (fifty percent). Interesting is the pattern for stayers in other neighborhoods and outside Berlin. In other Berlin neighborhoods, around two thirds of the stayers' contacts have completed the A-level or have a university degree. Outside Berlin, this number increases to 85%. The picture is just opposite for the movers. Their share of contacts with higher education or a college degree decreases with spatial distance (62% in the same neighborhood, 58% in other Berlin neighborhoods, 54% outside Berlin).

It seems that when bridging out of the neighborhood, stayers have contact to people that match their own educational background, whereas for movers, bridging means having contact to people from a lower social background. The pattern of stayers speaks against the common image of segregated areas as a trap (cf. Friedrichs & Triemer 2009; Gestring et al. 2004). They have been upwardly mobile socially, and that is reflected in their network – outside the neighborhood. Through their job or studies, they may have met people with a similar social background and have developed ties. This, however, does not occur at a loss of contacts within the same neighborhood, which are often to people with a lower social background.

If movers, however, bridge out or back, this is more often to socioeconomically weaker people. As we will see again in the next chapter, this is not surprising as some family, kin and long-term friends, many of whom only have a lower educational degree, still live in their old neighborhoods. For the Turkish-German movers, the own neighborhood is a focus where they meet people similar in class background. The stayers, in contrast, meet people with a similar class background in foci outside the own neighborhood, which itself is a place where ties to dissimilar people predominate.

Clear differences also emerge when we differentiate according to urban versus residential. Again, the differentiation is most pronounced for the group of movers, which is why I limit the following analysis to them (table 11). For the movers living in

an urban neighborhood, 22.8% of all contacts have a lower or no educational degree. In the networks of the Turkish-Germans living in residential areas, more than half of all contacts (54%) fall into this category. For those in urban neighborhoods, almost half of all contacts have a college degree, in contrast to just over thirty percent for the dissatisfied movers.

Table 14: Movers: Educational level of contacts, according to residential / urban

	Residential	Urban
Without degree	15.8% (15.6)	6.4% (7.9)
Lower edu	38.2% (38.2)	16.4% (24.4)
Medium Edu	13.9% (14.5)	29.1% (24.1)
College degree	32.1% (31.8)	48.2% (39.5)
N = 275	165	110

In parentheses are the percentages for all Turkish-Germans (movers and stayers)

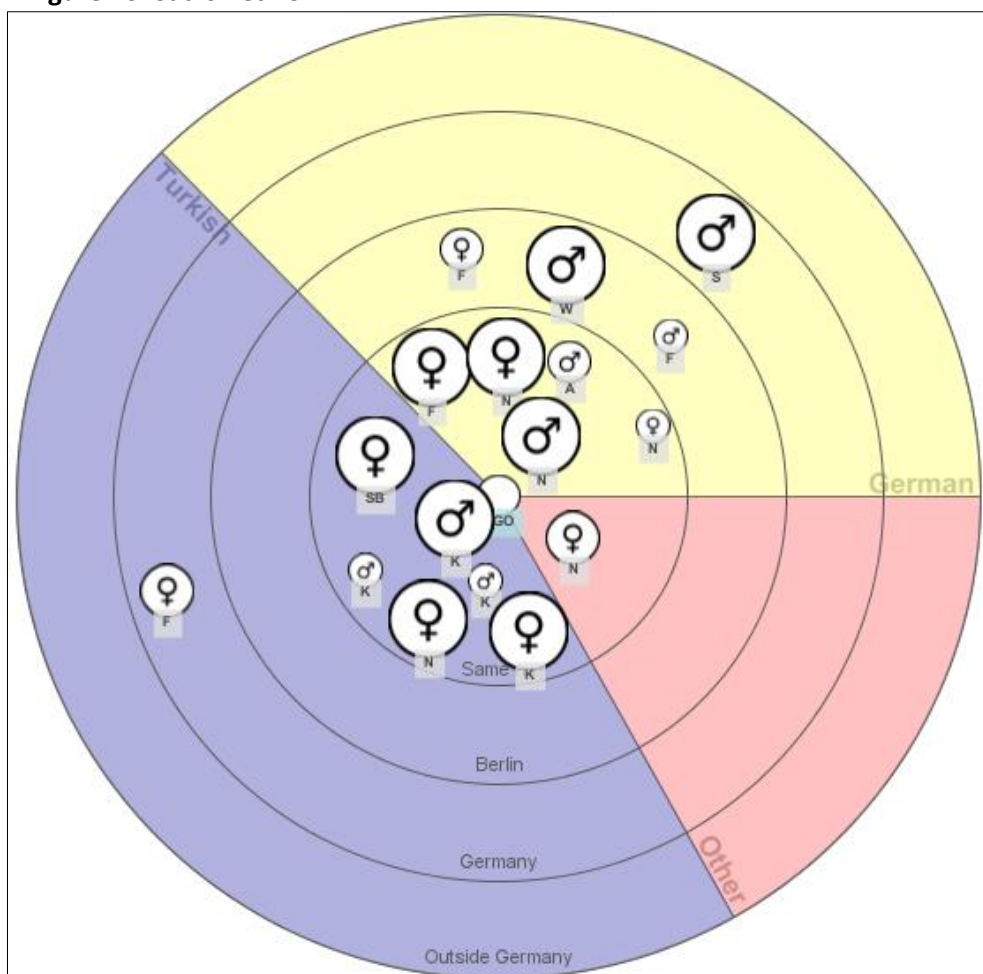
There is no obvious difference between the movers living in residential and urban neighborhoods, respectively, in socioeconomic background, age, or family status. The difference in social homogeneity or heterogeneity of their networks is thus not attributable to differences in individual characteristics. Using again the example of Dalim and Varol, a possible hypothesis develops. Dalim, living in an urban part of Wilmersdorf, has succeeded in building ties with people who are similar to him in values and lifestyle, as well as in their educational background. His fellow residents shared his taste for diversity, and did not face him as the unwanted Turkish neighbor.

Varol, living in a residential part of Reinickendorf, in contrast, though he may share the same values and the same socioeconomic background as his neighbors, was not able to establish ties with them, which he mainly contributes to the neighbors' racist attitudes towards Turkish migrants. He consequently still has many ties to family, kin and friends who he still knows from growing up in Wedding. As is typical for upwardly mobile ethnic minorities (cf. Pattillo 2000) whose members are mostly (still) working or lower class, there is a moving between two worlds. For Varol, since the socioeconomically more advantaged world of his neighborhood and the residents remains closed to him, his focus is on his long-time Turkish ties, which mostly have a lower socioeconomic

background. The parents – as many guest workers – do not have a degree, and many kin only have a lower education. Regarding educational background, then, there is a downward orientation. This, again, results from the social closure Varol experienced by the residents of his neighborhood and the foci such as schools.

One of the stayers with a heterogeneous network – in the contacts' ethnicity, socioeconomic background, but also role diversity – is Sati. She, who characterizes her circle of friends as gentrified, has a locally based network, which includes mainly Turkish and native-German contacts. Within spatial proximity, she not only has family- and kinship-ties, but also ties to neighbors and friends. In her network, as in others' as well, people not belonging to the family, are mostly from an ethnic background other than Turkish.

Figure 10: Sati's network



This contradicts the homophily thesis. Recalling that the network generator was about questions of support, there is a real choice involved. You may not be able to choose your neighbors, but you are able to choose whether or not to turn to neighbors for support.

For Sati, having ties within the neighborhood makes her feel at home there, and identify with it, and vice versa. The ethnic, but also social diversity, basically reflect her own way of identification – a mix between Turkish and German, having the gentrified circle of friends, but also attributing a high importance to family ties.

7.3. Summary and discussion

The results from the network analysis show the importance of locally based contacts. This stands in contrast to the findings of e.g. Savage and colleagues. Their study about place attachment in different Manchester neighborhood shows that *not* having many contacts in a neighborhood may actually be a reason for developing a feeling of belonging: “People’s relationships with neighbors are organized around an ethic of respectful distance. Rather, belonging does not require people to get involved in the local community, but rather evokes attachments to distant places” (Savage et al. 2005, 103). They differentiate between an instrumental view of the place of residence and an emotional feeling towards other places. Some of the Turkish-Germans – particularly those living in a residential area, indeed have a more instrumental view of their place of residence. They have emotional feelings towards other places, such as the old neighborhood. One reason for the continued emotional significance of other places is that they were not able to develop ties with residents in their actual neighborhood.

For mechanisms that may lead to homophily and social closure, the stories of the movers living in different kinds of neighborhoods – not in socioeconomic terms, but regarding the availability of foci and the openness of the residents – are insightful.

Based on mere exposure we would expect the movers to have more ties to ethnically different, and socially (educationally) similar people, than stayers. However, the networks differ according to whether or not the person lives in a more urban or more

residential area. Consequently, the networks differ within the group of movers, and the stayers' networks mostly resemble that of the movers in the urban areas.

There does not seem to be social closure on the side of the movers living in urban neighborhoods: their networks are socially and ethnically diverse. The networks of the movers in residential areas are more closed. As explained, this does not arise out of an a priori closed identity which would favor contact to Turkish migrants, but out of a lack of opportunities to build networks with fellow residents. Their networks, rather than those of the migrant in-movers, are socially closed with strict boundaries. I hence argue against using the diversity of social networks, particularly the number of contacts with members of the ethnic majority, as a proxy for the willingness for integration. This relationship is not as easy and clear as is too often assumed (cf. for example Friedrichs & Blasius 2001). Sauer's point that „missing contacts do not always result from migrants' preferences, but may result from missing opportunities or from a refusal by Germans" (2009, 239) has to be stressed and, based on the Turkish-Germans' account, emphasized as the main reason for homophilous networks.

The role diversity of the contacts on the local level differs for movers and stayers. The local contacts of movers rarely consist of extended family or kin, who mostly live in other neighborhoods. The ties developed in their new residence, include a higher share of neighbors and friends. For the stayers the local network is made up to a large degree by family and kin, who also played a role in the decision to 'stay'.

As we will see in the next chapter, there is a difference between movers and stayers in the attributed quality of local ties to neighbors and friends. Movers like Dalim are happy to have made friends within the neighborhood, people that they actually hang out with in their free-time. For the stayers, neighborhood life is more about the short moments of community, of trustworthy relations, but they do not extend into the private realm. Sampson claims that "most people do not want to be close friends with their neighbors", that "(t)hey desire trust with them, not necessarily to eat dinner with them" (2012, 151). This applies to most stayers, but differs for some of the movers.

Chapter eight: Symbolic neighborhood use & place identification

Each neighborhood of the city appeared to be made of a difference substance, each seemed to have a different air pressure, a different psychic weight.

(Teju Cole, Open City)

As fiction author Cole points out, neighborhoods differ from each other, and each has a certain effect on a person. In the following chapter, we will deal with the question whether, and if so in what ways the Turkish-Germans feel belonging or attachment to a place, a place they can symbolically use as an identifier of who they are. In a reverse way, the question is what influences different kinds of neighborhoods have on people's identification and place attachment.

Many urban scholars claim that the neighborhood still presents an important means for processes of identification (Bourdieu 1991; Pahl 1991; Savage et al. 2005; Watt 2009). Bourdieu (1991) claims that people choose their residential space so that it reflects their position in social space – in that way, the neighborhood can strengthen one's identification based on class. Savage et al. (2005a, 207) state, based on their study of residents in several Manchester neighborhoods, that the “residence is a crucial, possibly the crucial identifier of who you are”.

But how do people come to identify with their neighborhood? What is the process, what are the necessary conditions in a neighborhood that lead people to feel that the place they live in represents who they are as individuals? And if they do not identify with their place of living, what other spaces in the city play a role?

In that respect, Savage et al. (2005b, 102f.) posit that “(w)e need to retain certain elements of 'community' studies by recognizing the importance of studying how local belonging is generated or challenged. However, rather than operationalizing these questions only through the nature of local social ties or local interaction, the Bourdieuvian perspective suggests the importance of relating how an individual's habitus enables them to feel at home in a particular place, in ways which may not depend on significant physical interaction”. In the previous chapter on networks, the focus was on concrete, measurable ties – or the ‘significant physical interaction’ that Savage et al. talk about. In the following, in contrast, we will see that for developing

place attachment and identification with the neighborhood, public familiarity and resulting shared moments of sociability matter. For the Turkish-Germans, such familiarity and the resulting feeling of the existence of a community is the most important characteristic of a neighborhood as 'Kiez'. If there are no repeated encounters between neighborhood residents, facilitated by the availability of public and third places, the neighborhood is functionally confined to presenting a place for residing. In that case, identification shifts to other neighborhoods, such as the old one, where public familiarity is high and people share moments of sociability.

The issue of place identification is connected to question of power. Who defines the neighborhood symbolically? Who claims to own the neighborhood? Who influences what kinds of relations between residents are valued? As described in chapter four, the Turkish-Germans stress community-orientation as an important expression of their Turkish background. They thus also value community-like relations in a neighborhood. Whether or not fellow residents reciprocate this wish for some form of community in the neighborhood influences the Turkish-Germans' place attachment. If they do so, it means that the Turkish-Germans feel recognized as bi-cultural, and they can express this bi-culturality in their daily practices and interactions.

There is a difference between stayers and movers, whereby stayers more often use the neighborhood for identification. This again can be explained with the more urban and diverse environments the stayers live in. The movers can be separated into two groups who clearly differ in their degree of identification with the neighborhood. As shown in the previous chapter, those are the ones living in an urban and those living in a residential area. Place attachment is high in urban neighborhoods and low or absent in residential ones. Identification with the neighborhoods hence depends on the built environment and its residents, and particularly their attitudes towards neighbors with a Turkish family background.

As pointed out before, the participants value urbanity and diversity in their neighborhood. The latter refers to a diverse population, in ethnic and social background, as well as lifestyle. Moreover, diversity also refers to the availability of

various third places, such as coffee shops, bars, bakeries, and other places where residents have the chance to encounter each other on a regular basis. Recalling Blokland's definition of public familiarity (cf. chapter six), repeated encounters are the prerequisite for the development of public familiarity. Social relations that are characterized by familiarity exist between anonymous and intimate relations and "those involved know enough about each other to establish their respective social position" (Blokland 2003b, 91). Again, public familiarity emerges through the repeated use of public space, and publicly accessible places as cafes, bakeries, etc. From public familiarity, then, shared moments of sociability emerge.

For the Turkish-Germans, public familiarity and sociability are the characteristics of an urban neighborhood. In that way, their ideal of life in the city and neighborhood resemble that of cityphile authors such as Jacobs, Oldenburg, Lofland or Sennett. The ideas of urban life are neither characterized by anonymity and aloofness in Simmel's sense (Simmel 2006 [1903]), nor by tightly-knit urban enclaves, in Gans' urban villagers (Gans 1962) or Stack's description of thick networks in the city (Stack 1997).

For Lofland (1998, 230f.), the great city is "a settlement form that generates cosmopolitanism among its citizenry; it is a settlement form that produces – by its very nature – a populace that is far more open to and accepting of human variability far more inclined to civility and less to fanaticism and smug parochialism". Cities are places where people with diverse backgrounds meet. Of importance thereby is the public realm, the sidewalks of the city, where people invariably have to deal with each other, and be it only in order to avoid running into each other.

Sennett (1976) also points to the city's public sphere as the place where people are confronted with diversity, where they meet strangers, interact with them and thereby take on different roles. The public space of the multicultural city was the space where people learnt to interact with strangers, in an emotionally satisfying way, but nevertheless keeping a certain distance. With the onset of industrial capitalism and urbanites' increasing retreat to the private sphere, the public sphere lost meaning. Meanwhile, the stranger has turned into „a threatening figure, and few people can take great pleasure in that world of strangers, the cosmopolitan city“ (ibid., 3). With the

retreat to the private sphere, and the avoidance of confronting diversity comes a loss of the 'democratic' function of the city. Learning to deal with diversity is a means to 'learn citizenship', since "Citizenship is nurtured through social contact in places you can return to and value as meeting places" (Amin et al. 2000, 37).

This leads to the importance of what Oldenburg sees as typical for urban places, namely that they provide third places such as coffeehouses, or beer gardens where people casually meet and develop *easy friendships*. In these places, strangers feel at home and get to know each other. To Oldenburg (1997, 17), third places are "the core settings of informal public life". In these places, communication is the main activity. In that, Oldenburg can be connected to Simmel (1949, 259) who writes on sociability talking claiming that this is "an end in itself". That is why sociability is not about a specific content, and neither is it about the specific people involved, but about "symbolic (...) personalities" (ibid., 254).

The Turkish-Germans appreciate diversity, spending time in public and third places, encountering familiar people in the streets and share moments of sociability with them. Behcet's characterization of Kreuzberg-South, a neighborhood where he does not live (anymore) but likes to spend time, illustrates the value of diversity:

Loud, colorful, young, dynamic, creative. Positive. (...) Tolerant. (...) Crazy. (...) You are daily confronted with very different cultures, very different people.

This contrasts with Dalim's example of his time in Heidelberg, a city in the South-West of Germany with 150 000 inhabitants. After having grown up and worked for a few years in Berlin, he moved to Heidelberg for his studies. However, he never warmed to that city:

It was nice, idyllic, but if you come from Berlin, Heidelberg is simply surreal. (...) There you only have professors, students and tourists. It's really exhausting after a while. You walk up and down the main street and the people you see all have the same clothes (...). That was really unbearable.

A homogeneous population is juxtaposed to a heterogeneous one. Common places to come into contact with a diverse population in a neighborhood are cafes or bakeries - the third places Oldenburg was writing about, or Lofland (1998, 66) had in mind which

connect people because they share rounds when going to these places. The absence of these is noted and bemoaned by the participants. Bedia uses a typical 'urban' image, when referring to the coffee shop in her neighborhood:

There is also a Starbucks, people are scrimmaging there, in the traffic-free zone. All the families are sitting there with their bags after their shopping tour [laughing]. I like that so much, you just sit there and you hear the talk of all the families.

The coffee shop provides a place for encountering other residents, who have been outside already, doing things outside, and valuing the outside, the public sphere, to linger a bit and socialize. For Bedia, it is the experience of seeing and hearing the diverse residents, even if there is no immediate interaction involved.

Finding a neighborhood that matches this ideal is not an easy task. Public familiarity and sociability do not exist in every neighborhood. Relations between residents can also be characterized by anonymity and boundary drawing processes. This is the experience of the group of Turkish-German movers who now live in residential areas, mostly with a high share of native-German residents. Their experience, influenced mainly by hostile reactions from fellow residents, is described at length in the following part (8.1.). I will thereby analyze the consequences of living in a neighborhood that they feel is not a community, on place attachment and symbolic neighborhood use. After that I will turn to the contrasting experiences of the movers who live in urban neighborhood. Comparing these two groups gives important insights into what it is that makes a neighborhood a place for identification. The availability and frequenting of third places, public familiarity resulting from routinized encounters in these places, and residents' willingness to share moments of sociability are crucial for symbolic neighborhood use. This is underlined by the experience of the stayers, which is the topic of the last part of this chapter.

8.1. Life in a residential area: movers' experience of being the outsider

8.1.1. Residential choice as a coincidence

Feeling belonging to a neighborhood is by no means obvious, or something that everyone feels automatically. Even those who find community life very important may live in a neighborhood that does not correspond to their ideal.

This is the case for a group of movers, made up mainly of family households with children. As pointed out in chapter five, these movers' room to maneuver in their residential choices was rather limited. They moved because they felt the need to find better schools for their children. Since they mainly chose a school, and not a neighborhood, their original knowledge about the neighborhood was fairly limited and they jumped in at the deep end. With not much knowledge about the neighborhood, after a certain time they become aware that it did not match their idea of a good neighborhood life and they thus do not feel at home.

This group teaches us more about the interplay of upward social mobility, housing choice, the use of public space, and experiences of discrimination and hostility.

Özcan, 50 year-old tax-consultant, recounts how he and his family found their new house:

Lankwitz was, I believe, just by chance. I looked in the newspaper, what would fit for us, and where are the schools, kindergartens, etc. (...) And then it fit well with Lankwitz.

Özcan and his family knew which districts were eligible, mostly because they knew that there were good schools, although even this was largely based on hearsay or intuition (cf. Flitner 2004). The choice of potential neighborhoods was hence strategic, but only with respect to the educational environment, not according to where it might be a good place to live. After that, they consulted the newspaper for the housing search, and chose a house in a convenient location. Thereby, the notion of 'chance' that was mentioned not only by Özcan, but other Turkish-Germans as well, is not some rhetoric device to downplay a strategy (cf. Boterman 2012), neither is it an exaggeration of the openness of the housing search. It captures the way these movers looked for a new house, and the coincidence has to be taken seriously (cf. Becker 1994). Choosing a

neighborhood 'by chance' points to a lack of knowledge about the neighborhood, which can have important consequences for how a person feels in the new place.

The notion 'by chance' also implies a previous limitation of the radius of daily activities. Traditional mobility studies point to the need for households to reduce costs in the housing search, which is why they look in familiar places, for which they anticipate the place utility (Wolpert 1965) or potential residential satisfaction. The household only looks within a certain action space, the "subset [of all locations in the urban area] comprising those locations for which the intended migrant possesses sufficient information to assign place utilities" (Brown & Moore 1970, 1). However, if the previous action space, the parts of the city that play a role in daily life, has been restricted, the search radius may have to be expanded, but information about the expanded action space is limited (cf. also Sampson 2012, 313). For the movers, it is rather school utility that is assessed, not place utility.

Since the previous action space was focused on the central-city, disadvantaged neighborhoods, these Turkish-Germans only have limited knowledge about other neighborhoods and hence also the neighborhood they move into. These are places that they characterize as residential, lacking public spaces where residents can meet. Movers as Selim or Ozeant, both living in residential areas, mention that there are some cafes or bars in their respective neighborhoods, but that they do not frequent them. Ozeant who has lived in Neukölln and Kreuzberg-South, and now lives in Tempelhof, says that the residents keep to themselves, and that there are not many cafes and bars. And she does not like the few that exist: *'I tried a few things there, but that doesn't correspond to my wishes. The people are definitely much older and just completely different'*. Because the residents are different, visiting a café or bar does not lead to shared moments of sociability. In addition to the built environment and low availability of third places, the residential neighborhoods have a high share of native-German and a low share of ethnic minority residents. Both factors have consequences on symbolic neighborhood use.

8.1.2. Distanced relations between fellow residents

When Ferda, Alkalin and some other movers talk about the advantages of their respective neighborhoods, they do not talk much about relations with neighbors or fellow residents. There is no mentioning of a thriving public life, of public familiarity and sociability. This is surprising since – as pointed out– the Turkish-Germans stressed exactly these characteristics as important dimensions of a good neighborhood life.

Ferda, asked what she thinks is typical for her place of residence, says *‘that it’s quiet, everyone for himself. I don’t know whether that’s typical for here or for these areas with single family homes’*.

This sealing off and keeping to oneself, is partly due to the built environment. As Jacobs (1992, 65) describes: “In areas that lack a natural and casual public life, it is common for residents to isolate themselves from each other to a fantastic degree”. Ferda points out that a more anonymous neighborhood life can be due to the area’s purely residential character, and the predominance of single family homes.

Alkalin likewise refers to a lack of public places in his Wilmersdorf-neighborhood. His reaction when asked to describe his ‘Kiez’, is telling:

Well, it’s not a Kiez. Kiez is... if I think of Kiez, I think of a place where people know each other a bit, that there is, I don’t know, a bar, a bakery, something like that. So it’s more, more anonymous [in the present neighborhood].

Alkalin misses a bakery or a similar place where people meet, where they have “routinized relationships” (Lofland 1998, 55) or interactions. These could then lead to public familiarity and eventually sociability between residents. Since his neighborhood lacks familiarity and sociability, he does not call it a ‘Kiez’. What he and others miss in their neighborhoods is well told by Oldenburg who bemoans the loss of third places: “What urban life increasingly fails to provide, and what is so much missed, is convenient and open-ended socializing – places where individuals can go without aim or arrangement and be greeted by people who know them and know how to enjoy a little time off” (Oldenburg 1997, 63).

The built environment may inhibit contact, but residents may also be reluctant to establish contact. Varol who has been living in a neighborhood in Reinickendorf for seven years now has not managed to establish any more stable, longer-lasting

relationships, let alone any friends. He feels that his attempts to develop relations to his native-German neighbors have been turned down. The difficulty for ethnic minorities to establish relations to ethnic majority persons has been shown for other contexts as well (Ehrkamp 2005; Gruner 2010), and “(w)hite Germans refuse to do exactly what they usually demand from people of colour” (Gruner 2010, 287), namely trying to integrate by forming inter-ethnic relations. I do not have data on the neighborhood life of the native-German residents in these neighborhoods, so we do not know whether or not the native-Germans form a community among themselves, or whether residents stick entirely to themselves. The participants do not mention that they feel excluded from an existing community, but perceive the neighborhood to be no community at all.

Enginalp, a lawyer and politician, lives with his family in Frohnau, in a section where they are about the only Turkish family. They are the obvious ‘others’ and the residents make them feel this - even after seven years of living in the area:

I: So if you are out on the streets, there is not much small talk?

E: I would say so, yes.

I: And what about just nodding, saying hi?

E: Yes, a very afflicted nod, if you directly look at each other.

Contact, even just some cursory nodding, only occurs when it cannot be avoided. Varol likewise says that even fellow residents who know him do not greet him. Even a low level of interaction such as “friendly recognition” (Kusenbach 2006, 291), implying recognition of the person as such, which is “the normative, minimum principle of interaction among people who consider each other neighbors, and the foundation for the development of deeper neighborly relationships that eventually form networks and communities” (ibid., 291) is absent in these neighborhoods, at least from native-Germans towards their Turkish neighbor. On the contrary, Varol, Enginalp and others feel treated as outsiders, and instead of friendly recognition, there is the aloofness, that Simmel (2006 [1903]) described as typical for urbanites – even though these areas are residential, not resembling any crowded urban centers.

Cevat also misses good neighborly relations. He has been living with his partner in a Wilmersdorf neighborhood for four years, and has not managed to establish contact to fellow residents. The couple does not have children, so he cannot even meet other people through kindergartens or schools. Cevat regrets this anonymity:

We don't have a relation. Often, if you live [in a neighborhood] for a longer period, you have children, and then maybe you meet someone, but we don't have that, so it's basically, yes, this networking with others is just not there. (...) I like it if you go outside, you know a few people, who know you. And that's just what makes the difference. The places are basically interchangeable, what you cannot change are the people. And that's missing.

The important passage is that places are exchangeable, but residents are not. The residents as persons are interchangeable, but not as types. Who exactly is your neighbor does not matter as much as whether this neighbor shares your ideas about a good neighborhood life. It is about the neighbor as a 'symbolic personality' (Simmel 1949).

If residents do not frequent the same places, if they are in another life stage, or are simply not interested in contact with fellow residents, there is no feeling of belonging to the neighborhood. Alkalin's story shows the influence of distanced or missing relations on neighborhood attachment. He, who moved to Wilmersdorf mainly in order to find a school with a low share of migrants, is not happy in the neighborhood at all:

Well, you know a few people. But it's not like in my own Kiez. Let me put it like this, for us it is also common to just go to the neighbor in the evening and have a cup of tea. Or the neighbor stops by. That doesn't exist there. Everyone is doing his own thing.

Note Alkalin's telling reference points. He is talking about his 'own Kiez' which is not his current one, but the neighborhood he moved out of seven years ago. His second reference point is fellow Turkish migrants. When he talks about how 'we' have a cup of tea, he is referring to other Turkish migrants, implying that certain kinds of sociability, of neighborhood life, are more common for people with a Turkish background.

Since there are no interactions based on friendly recognition, longer-lasting, more durable or even routinized relations cannot develop. There are, however, exceptions to the rule and they are particularly stressed. Despite the dissatisfaction with fellow

residents, the movers often point out one or two neighbors, who they get along with well. These can be exactly named and counted – an indicator of their rather exceptional status. Dissatisfied Alkalin describes such an exception:

Well, we do have some really nice neighbors. They hang stuff on our doors for St Nicholas or Christmas. And we try to do the same when we have our holidays. I also have a neighbor, Arab but Christian, and he wishes me the best for Ramadan, and I do the same on Christmas, so that works quite well.

Sercan who was surprised by the anonymity in his neighborhood can also think of some pleasant relations:

I often go to soccer games with my sons, from Hertha. And there is an elderly couple, they also talked to us, and they know that my kids are fans of Hertha. So they gave them jerseys. People like that exist as well.

Summarizing, the movers who based their residential choice on educational considerations, and who ‘by chance’ ended up in a more residential neighborhood, are largely dissatisfied. The main reason for that is the lack of public familiarity which could lead to shared moments of sociability between neighbors. This can be largely attributed to the built environment and missing meeting opportunities. More than that, there is another fundamental experience that these movers share – the experience of being confronted with stereotypes and hostility towards ethnic and cultural diversity.

8.1.3. The neighborhood as a place of hostility

The Turkish proverb “*ev alma komşu al*” which translates as “*Don’t buy the house, buy the neighbor*” was mentioned by quite a few Turkish-Germans. The movers described in this part, however, have not succeeded to do so. They bought the house without knowing much about their neighbors. And in their view, the mainly native-German residents in these neighborhoods do not perceive diversity as something positive. Often, even a basic *civility towards diversity* (Lofland 1998) is lacking. The participants experience a population that largely resists categorically different ‘intruders’. Kusenbach (2006, 297) describes how in neighborhoods “locals rarely express indifference toward their neighbors’ differences. (...) (C)ivility toward diversity is both

considerably stronger and weaker than in public, depending on the particular situation and the people involved". In this case, such civility is clearly weaker. The Turkish-Germans feel that they do not belong there, that they are not welcome.

Enginalp or Sercan are 'pioneers': they are one of the first Turkish families in an otherwise native-German dominated neighborhood. That they may be confronted with hostile attitudes towards them as newcomers did not occur to them, as Sercan recalls:

S: At the beginning it was hard. It was... Conversely, for the people who live in Grunewald it was hard to accept foreigners. (...) In the area where we live, there are only two foreign families. Us and another Turkish family (...). For those who live there, many elderly and German people, it was hard to accept us. They thought 'Oh, foreigners, what are they doing here?', 'If one is here they will all come'.

I: But did you expect that when you moved there?

S: No.

Sercan is still glad to have moved – the children do very well in school – but he is not happy with the neighborhood, where his family stands out as 'the other'. Varol and his family have similar experiences with the feeling of being the outsider:

Well, Reinickendorf... I guess that if I didn't have children I wouldn't want to live here. It's just too conservative. (...) The area where we live, it's very conservative, so people also look, if I walk along the street, in side-streets, people look at me.

Özcan also calls his neighbors 'conservative', and as Varol uses it as a synonym for 'disliking foreigners'. Du Bois (1996 [1899], 297) has already described the African American experience of standing out, of being the other in mainly white environments: "The Negro who ventures away from the mass of his people and their organized life, finds himself alone, shunned and taunted, stared at and made uncomfortable; he can make few new friends, for his neighbors however well-disposed would shrink to add a Negro to their list of acquaintances. Thus he remains far from friends (...) and feels in all its bitterness what it means to be a social outcast".

Although the experience of Blacks in the U.S. is historically a very specific one, parts of it can be transferred to other ethnic minority groups. Varol describes this experience of being looked at in the streets. The Turkish-Germans would have expected such a negative reactions in the Eastern districts of Berlin, which are associated with a racist,

right-wing voting population. Fear of stigmatization made them exclude these Eastern parts from their residential choice process. From the population in the Western parts, however, Sercan and others did not expect these opposing attitudes.

Enginalp can talk for hours about the experience of being shunned and taunted by neighbors. He recalls how sometimes people would actually talk to him in the streets. He does not look Turkish, so he cannot be identified as being 'different' at first sight. But he clearly sees the reaction when he tells his name to those people who believe that he is German. Contact then breaks up quickly. Interestingly, he still calls the people there decent, *"except for they have a problem when a Turkish family lives among them"* – which is what clearly shapes his experience in that neighborhood the most. He has people spit in his garden, or let the dog poo in front of his door. One time he even had a swastika (*Hakenkreuz*) drawn on the front door. His wife, whose Turkish background is immediately recognizable, had a neighbor ranting to her because she was hanging up the laundry on a Sunday. Among the participants, Enginalp is certainly the person who has had the most extreme, most hostile experiences. Other Turkish-Germans, however, do equally know what it means not to be greeted by the (German) neighbors, or to have the door shut when walking by.

Alper very emotionally talks about injustices existing in life and that he has also variously experienced. When he moved to Tempelhof, he immediately – while unloading the truck – had two negative experiences with prospective neighbors. One neighbor told him that he was not integrating himself enough:

So then I became angry, I was enraged. First of all, he claims that I am not integrating myself. Quite the contrary. I am dis-integrating myself, because I'm just fed up with all this shit. So I told him 'Hitler would be ashamed for such a would-be racist as you are'. That hit him. (...) But if you experience stuff like that and then others constantly talk about Kiez and community and blablabla. It's just nothing.

In contrast to other participants, Alper does not hide his anger and does not shy away from confrontation. He does not contain his emotions or remain controlled (cf. Fleming et al., 408), but speaks his mind. Alper, together with wife and two children, has meanwhile lived in Tempelhof for five years and has no relation whatsoever to that place. His immediate neighbors always complain when his young children make noise,

and there is no contact to any other residents. Since, however, he does not like it in his old neighborhood Neukölln either, or anywhere else in Berlin or Germany, he is preparing to move to Turkey – where he has never lived before for a long period, but where he imagines a good life. That is why he is saying to be ‘dis-integrating’. The hostility, from individuals but also from politicians and public agencies, has made him weary. He does not see community life anywhere, but only in Turkey.

More than being stigmatized because of being Turkish, these participants feel they are perceived as suspicious because they are economically successful *although* they are Turkish. Many accounts show the double-standard on class-status coupled with migration background, which leads to the exclusion of Turkish migrants from the middle class, as shown in chapter 4.4. For Enginalp and others, it is particularly the neighborhood where they are made aware of this double-standard.

Enginalp knows that his neighbors talk about him – not only because of his Turkish background, but because he is Turkish *but* successful. As described already, he does not have many relations to his neighbors. The only four families he knows in the area are from the son’s school. With these, the relations are rather good, they visit each other. However, even these more open people needed some time to get used to having a Turkish family as friends. These families now tell him what other residents think about him, namely that he has casinos in the immigrant neighborhood of Neukölln – his former place of residence. The neighbors do not believe that he has made money in legal ways. He exposes the obvious double-standard:

So if I would go and buy a Rolls Royce, the whole neighborhood would talk about it. Although there are ten or twenty of those. (...) There are certain things that I just can’t do without attracting negative attention. I mean, I don’t even want to do it, but... in theory everybody has the right to do something like that, just not me. The society doesn’t accept it. If my name was Schmitt and I had big bakery chain stores, people would consider it normal, they would expect it. But nobody would expect it from me, on the contrary. The people think about how I came up with my wealth. Whether I have casinos or shit like that.

Enginalp’s neighbors do not believe that a Turkish migrant can acquire wealth in legal ways. More than that, if he invested in status symbols the way it would be expected

were he not Turkish-German, but native-German, it would be interpreted as a sign not of success, but of illegal activities. Real-estate developer Selami knows this as well:

If I drive up somewhere with a big car (...) then they all look, 'where did he get the money (...), he probably sold drugs, or was dealing with women or guns'.

The Turkish-Germans are highly aware of the stereotypes surrounding their success. Pattillo (2004, 101) also pointed out that middle class blacks are more aware of stereotypes and discrimination than are lower class blacks. Successful but stereotyped ethnic or racial minorities are "succeeding more and enjoying it less" (Hochschild 1995, 5). The intersection of ethnic background and social class leads to a particular experience of discrimination. Had we only looked at Turkish background, without acknowledging the hostility and racism that comes from the Turkish-Germans' class status, we would have missed important insights into these people's daily experiences. Ethnic minority status conflicts with middle class status, and "(w)hiteness and middle class identity are conflated within dominant discourse" (Archer, 144) so that members of ethnic minorities believe that majority members perceive them as working class simply due to their ethnic background. The problem is further that even common middle class status symbols are interpreted as visible signs of suspicious activities, and not as a display of middle class status.

Lacin, who meanwhile lives in a more ethnically diverse neighborhood, has experienced this kind of double disadvantage in the previous neighborhood – a socioeconomically well, but very homogeneous (native-German) neighborhood. When he moved in, his elderly German neighbor came right up to him, not concealing his stereotype:

I quickly got to feel this 'Turkish thing', right on the first day. A pensioner, he was my neighbor, came right up to me, asking 'What are you doing?', 'Working', 'Where?', 'Daimler', 'Oh really? I've worked there as well. So you're not such a Turk as all the Neukölln Turks'.

That Lacin works at a famous, well-known automobile company becomes his advantage. However, the first idea that the neighbor had about him, and why he inquired in an unfriendly tone, was that he is an undeserving Turkish migrant, unwilling to integrate – as exemplified by the use of 'Neukölln-Turks'.

These experiences show that there is something particular about being an ethnic minority member and being upwardly mobile. As Pattillo (2000, 19) has shown for African American middle classes in Chicago, “(b)eing middle class did not annul the fact of being black”.

In neighborhoods dominated by majority-society residents, the Turkish-Germans are constantly subject to social categorizations. The neighborhood, in this case, is not a space where they are ‘safe’ from racism and discriminatory practices, as it is for most stayers and the movers living in urban neighborhoods. In contrast, the neighborhood presents a sphere where the Turkish-Germans experience the stigma of being a (successful) migrant. Coming back to Honneth’s notion of recognition (Honneth 1994) there is a denial of recognition and the Turkish-Germans are not recognized as members of the neighborhood as community.

The Turkish-Germans are similar to what Hüttermann (2009) calls the ‘advancing stranger’ – social climbers with migration background who are received with suspicion by majority society (see also Sutterlüty & Neckel 2012). Based on a study of Turkish migrants in the immigrant neighborhood of Marxloh (Duisburg) he found that economically successful migrants – visible for example because they started buying apartment buildings to rent out rooms, or they bought their own houses – were treated with hostility by native-German residents. In this case, the stranger is not exotic or peripheral, but „it is the one who came yesterday, and complied with his role as the outsider automatically attributed to him, but then gradually and partly overcame this role” (Hüttermann 2009, 283). Gruner (2010) has also shown that white residents hold stereotypes towards people of color. Both studies have been conducted in disadvantaged neighborhoods and do not tell much about what middle class white Germans may think about ethnic mix in socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods. However, research on trust in diverse neighborhoods has shown that general trust in neighbors does not change with socioeconomic background (Koopmans et al. 2011, 19). Moreover, there is a negative relationship between the perception of ethnic and religious diversity in a neighborhood and trust in neighbors. This relationship is particularly strong in more homogeneous areas. Interestingly, trust in neighbors in

diverse areas increases with education, but only for ethnic minorities, not for native-Germans (*ibid.*, 63). This hints at a continued categorization of migrants by native-Germans, regardless of their educational level.

Many studies on the white middle classes in changing neighborhoods have extensively shown how these – with respect to schooling, but also in daily life – try to keep contact to ‘other groups’ to a minimum (Atkinson 2006; Butler 2003; Butler & Robson 2003; Savage et al. 2005; Watt 2009). These ‘others’ are mainly people from lower class backgrounds, as well as migrants. In the case of the just described movers, we see the consequences of such boundary drawing within a neighborhood on the ones that are thus excluded. In this case, we do not know much about the relations between the native-German residents. We do not know whether, to what extent, or on what basis (ethnic background, length of residence, etc.) neighborly relations exist. What we do know, however, is that there is hostility towards the ethnic pioneers and the effect is that they do not feel welcomed in the neighborhood. Taking the accounts of the Turkish-Germans at face value, it is likely that the core of hostility relates to ethnic background, and less to an established/outsider problematic (*cf.* Elias & Scotson 1994). Maybe the native-German residents are ‘simply’ racist, maybe they fear that the presence of ethnic minorities might affect the neighborhood’s reputation and property values, maybe they fear that the Turkish children might have a bad influence on their children and negatively influence their future chances (for social reproduction). Living in a neighborhood with good schools and high property values is a scarce resource, so the felt competition may be high. In this regard, opportunity hoarding (Tilly 1998) of the white middle classes might explain the hostility towards the Turkish-German pioneers. Lamont and Molnár (2002, 175), summarizing findings on ethnic boundary drawing, say that these studies “point to self-interest as the source of ethnic conflict and to how such conflicts are tied with social closure – with the protection of acquired privileges”.

A consequence of the hostility and racism that the Turkish-Germans feel in their neighborhoods, these movers do not develop a feeling of home, or a positive

identification with the neighborhood. The neighborhood is not a *safe space*. Simone questions the connection between visibility and power. He asks whether “(w)ithin prevailing trajectories of urban power, is visibility always a critical resource; do the processes that render things visible also threaten the very existence of that which exists outside of view?” (Simone 2011, 360). It seems that this group of Turkish-Germans struggles a lot with their visibility, because what their fellow residents see is the stigma of being Turkish. The visibility of a stigma is crucial for people’s experiences in daily life, since “in every contact there will be some consequences, which taken together, can be immense” (Goffman 1986, 48). The movers then withdraw to other places and use daily rounds in which they are in the shadow, not visible to those who face them with hostility, who do not interpret the Turkish background as a stigma. As Enginalp puts it: *‘And then you feel that you stand out less among certain kinds of people, and then you start looking for these people to socialize with’*. Enginalp’s coping mechanism towards his experiences with racism in his own neighborhood, is to spend very little time there, to avoid contact with the residents and thus *deflate conflict* (Fleming et al. 2011; cf. also Goffman 1986, 91). Instead, he spends a lot of time in Neukölln, his old surroundings - a place where he feels comfortable and gets recognition. Skeggs (1999, 220), talking about the relevance and accessibility of place for leisure time activities, points to the connection between visibility and place: “Visibility is about an empirical recognition of being in or out of place that invariably invokes regimes of placement”, whereby a person’s claim for recognition in a particular space is evaluated by (sometimes more powerful) others. If a person is out of place in the neighborhood of residence, if her presence, due to visible clues such as ethnicity, is deemed illegitimate, the consequence is low neighborhood use - mostly in practical terms without a symbolic dimension to it - and a focus on neighborhoods in daily life where the person can feel ‘in place’. Briggs et al. (2010, 110) have shown that for some of the U.S. public housing residents part of the residential dispersal program ‘Moving to Opportunity’, who moved from a high poverty to a low- poverty area, the neighborhood did not provide a new community, but at least “a safe base of

operations". However, even in these more practical terms, the neighborhood has only limited value, as Enginalp's example shows:

*I: Is there anything else that you do in Frohnau, apart from just living [dwelling] there?
E: Nope. I only sleep there, that's it. Well. I invite people, I always invite a lot of people, so we spend time with friends.*

Basically, Enginalp only uses his neighborhood for sleeping. The one social activity he does there is inviting friends, who, except for the four families he knows through his son's school, live in other Berlin neighborhoods. However, it is not the neighborhood he uses, but his house. Alper, who has nothing positive to say about his present (but also his past) neighborhood, similarly points out that he only goes to the neighborhood and his house to sleep:

*A: I only go there to sleep. I leave at 8 in the morning, and come back at 11 at night.
I: So you basically don't spend any time there?
A: Nope, there is no reason to do so. Absolutely no reason for me.*

This group of movers is symbolically excluded from neighborhood life. It is not the case that they draw boundaries towards native-Germans and only want to socialize with other Turkish migrants. The native-German residents draw the boundaries and the Turkish-Germans find themselves excluded. In queer studies, some scholars have dealt with the relevance of place, and with how lesbians and gays appropriate certain places in cities. What we learn from that research is that "The city is (.) simultaneously raced and sexed. It is one of the spaces where (usually white) heterosexual masculinization remains spatially intact" (Skeggs 1999, 216). For this study, the stress is on the race / ethnicity dimension rather than on sex or gender. However, acknowledging the 'raced' or 'sexed' nature of spaces, leads to the question of the safety of spaces. This is transferable to the experiences of the Turkish-Germans described in this part. Just as "(h)omophobic crime produces the public as a heterocentric space" (ibid., 221; cf. also Eves 2004), hostility and racism produce neighborhoods as white spaces. Fear of victimization (not necessarily physical, but psychological as well) leads to the avoidance of these unsafe places whenever possible (cf. Schuster 2012).

In contrast to their previous neighborhood, the current residence is an ethnically homogeneous area, with a high share of native-Germans. A move presents not only a

change in address but also a change in reference group, meaning a change in people you meet from day to day in the neighborhood, who you compare yourself with, and who influence processes of identification. Loewenstein et al. (2003) point out that people often underestimate the effects of a change in reference groups. They believe that a change in neighborhood will increase their satisfaction, but do not consider that a change in location may also change the reference group. Hence, “people may be prone to make reference-group-changing decisions that give them the sensation of status relative to their current reference group. If a person buys a small house in a wealthy neighborhood in part because it has a certain status value in her apartment building, she may not fully appreciate that her frame of reference may quickly become the larger houses and bigger cars that the new neighbors have” (Loewenstein et al. 2003; cf. also Luttmer 2005).

In the cases of Enginalp, Varol and the other Turkish-Germans, it is the school status that is decisive for the move. What they did not think about before is the change in reference group. They move from a rather diverse neighborhood to a very homogenous one. The new neighbors have different ideas of community and neighborhood life, which is why the change in reference group is a negative one.

Savage et al. (2005a, 29) point out how “people’s sense of being at home is related to reflexive processes in which they can satisfactorily account to themselves how they come to live where they do”. The movers know that the reason for moving was the school choice, but since the exact neighborhood choice was influenced ‘by chance’, and not by a conscious choice, they cannot ‘satisfactorily recount’ why they live in this particular place.

This has consequences, which I will analyse in the next two parts. First of all, the movers miss life in their old neighborhood. When talking about community life there, they do with a nostalgic view, meaning that they selectively recollect the past, and thereby create a negative picture of the present and a positive one of past (Blokland 2003b, 191). After describing this nostalgia, I will point out to practices, namely the frequenting of the old neighborhood, in order to meet friends and family, but also to enjoy community life, meaning public familiarity and shared moment of sociability.

8.1.4. Nostalgic feelings about the previous neighborhood

Due to the above-mentioned reasons, the neighborhood is used neither symbolically, nor practically (except for children-related places and institutions) by these movers. The Turkish-Germans do feel an “integration exhaustion” (Cashin 2004, 9), a “socio-psychological fatigue experienced especially by blacks who work in integrated environments or have been pioneers in white neighborhoods” (Pattillo 2007, 10). A coping mechanism is a focus back on the old neighborhood, where people often still have family members and friends. The recollections about life in the old neighborhood are characterized by a nostalgic view.

With a nostalgic view, Ferda talks about the good relations between people in her old neighborhood Kreuzberg-North:

I hated it earlier, when we went grocery shopping with my mom. Or when she went shopping, just small things, it always took two hours. And when we asked her, what she was doing ‘Well, I met this woman and that woman’. It was terrible for me, when we went shopping and I always had to stand there half an hour, because she always met some friends. (...) And now I miss it. When I am out I would also like to see familiar faces, and stop to have a chat. Now I know what that means. And those are things I miss from KB. And when I am there now and see a familiar face, I really enjoy it.

Ferda clearly does not feel that she belongs to her current neighborhood. Her discomfort is so strong that she actually wants to move back. Until that becomes a real possibility – she and her husband made a deal to think about moving back as soon as the youngest child has completed primary school - she often visits her family and kin in the old neighborhood. Ferda’s account illustrates Simmel’s claim that sociability is about “symbolic (...) personalities” (1949, 254). Ferda does not need to see particular persons, but ‘familiar faces’. Who exactly this person is does not matter; it is about being able to talk to someone, just for the joy of talking, of socializing.

Blokland (2003b, 191) has shown that “(p)eople’s recollections about the past reveal at least as much about their interpretations of the current social reality as about the way life used to be”. This is why the community-like relations from the previous neighborhoods figure prominently in these nostalgic accounts. Özcan refers to the public life that takes place in the streets, and which he also perceives to be typical for

more urban neighborhoods such as Neukölln where he has lived previously. Asked whether he misses anything from the old neighborhood, he replies:

Well, yes, the street life. So in Neukölln or Wilmersdorf a lot is going on in the streets. If you go out, just to have a walk, you would have met all the grocers, you would have been on a first-name basis with everyone, and you would have... more this street life. Here it is only event-life. So you either have summer fest, garden fest, arbor fest, those are all the fests, where you meet... there is just no street life.

Özcan hence contrasts the spontaneous encounters typical for street life with the more regulated, clearly planned event-life that characterizes social relations in his Lankwitz-neighborhood. People do not just go out, strolling around, knowing that they will meet a few people who are up for some small talk.

Next to the more sociable relations between fellow residents, the movers highlight the ethnic and cultural diversity in their old neighborhoods, which they stress as a positive characteristic. Selim, for example, does not even try to make Wilmersdorf, where he has moved because of his spouse's networks, his home:

I'm Kreuzberger, I stand by that. I grew up here, I was born here, and what I like about Kreuzberg is... Well, the way people live together, it's very relaxed. And that's also what I hear from others. A place where many different cultures meet and people are still peaceful with each other. Nobody points the finger at others and 'look, there are Russians'. You don't stand out much. Because it's a colorful mix anyways.

Selim does not dislike his present neighborhood, he values it because it is quiet and a good place to raise his children. But there is no symbolic use of the neighborhood. He still considers himself to be a 'Kreuzberger' – the place where he grew up in, where he opened a café with his brother and cousin, and where most of the socializing with other people takes place.

Discomfort with the current neighborhood, coupled with a nostalgic view about the old neighborhood makes some of the movers want to move back to the disadvantaged area. What is particularly interesting is that the well-being of the children is mentioned as one main reason for this wish. And that although the well-being of the child – providing it with a good education – was the main reason to leave the disadvantaged

area, so there is a clear change of perspective. Whereas educational considerations were at the heart of the decision to leave the disadvantaged area, the motives to move back are framed in terms of cultural diversity. In this way, the disadvantaged area becomes an advantaged one. It was disadvantaged because of its lack of good educational provisions, but now, after a change of perspective, the parents would put up with that because the advantage of living in a more diverse area counts much more. The children would grow up and learn in an ethnically and culturally diverse environment, and “multiculturalism is seen as an important value” (Reay et al. 2007, 1044), even in the school context, where it was previously perceived as potentially decreasing the quality of schooling.

Alkalin’s high attachment to his old neighborhood as well as the Turkish community makes him want to move back to Neukölln. The present neighborhood is ‘too German’ and that is something he now sees as a disadvantage for raising his children because they miss out on ‘Turkish’ culture:

My wife and I, we wanted to give her [the daughter] a certain basic education without paying too much. (...) We wanted her to speak the language fluently. (...) Now, we have a different problem again, our children hardly speak any Turkish. So that’s something we don’t want either. (...) That is a step backwards for me, for us. And that’s why it wouldn’t be a problem for us to say, okay, we will move back to Neukölln. (...) We simply don’t have the possibilities here in Wilmersdorf, to use certain offers, like Turkish language classes or to send the kids to a mosque, where they also speak Turkish, or where they can get a religious education.

A similar story is that of Ferda, who also wants to move back to Kreuzberg-North – not least *because* of the children:

F: To be honest, I miss the multi-culti, the mix, and I really regret that for my children, that they do not experience that. (...) In 2004, I thought differently. But now I wouldn’t have a problem sending them to a school in Kreuzberg. Quite the contrary.

I: Because of the multi-cultural?

F: Because of the multi-culti. Exactly. So that they also experience something different.

The reason not to send the children to a school in Kreuzberg-North – as for Alkalin as well – now becomes the main reason to wanting to send them to school there. In the German-dominated neighborhoods and schools, the children do not experience ethnic

and cultural diversity, something the parents did not think about before. Before moving, there has not only been little reflection on the prospective life in the new neighborhood. Moreover, having the children in a school with mainly native white children has not been considered as a potential problem beforehand. There was no “sense of the ‘risk’ of encountering racism” or the experience of standing out, so that the “complex negotiation of class and race” (Byrne 2009, 436) only emerges after having moved and having the child(ren) in the ‘German’ school.

That the lack of cultural diversity and hence the lack of intercultural competency of German teachers as well as parents, can actually lead to a differential treatment of the child, shows the example of Enginalp’s son. Enginalp told the teachers from the beginning that he does not want his son to be treated in any different way, due to some presumed ‘special’ requests based on his ethnic or religious background. However, he had to realize that people still act according to what *they* think must be true:

So Kürsat [son] couldn’t join the Secret Santa [children secretly exchanging Christmas presents]. The parents decided to buy a present for Kürsat, so that he also has one when the other kids get their presents. So I said ‘What? What’s going on here? How do you even get the idea that he can’t join the Julclub? Why do you even start treating him differently?’. And he comes home, saying, I am not allowed to join the Julclub. Because I’m Muslim’. I mean, what can you do? What can you say? I mean... this is so terribly primitive, stupid, you know?! And stuff like that happens all the time.

This is an example of how the lack of ethnic and cultural diversity can lead to a lack in competence to deal with such diversity, not only in the neighborhoods but also in the schools.

The idea to move back to the socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhood is more than just a wish. Ferda has continuously been discussing with her husband about that possibility, and Alkalin and his wife have the prospect of buying land in Neukölln, and build a house there. This high attachment to the old neighborhood is hence not just rhetorically present, but it has real consequences.

Others, such as Enginalp or Varol do not want to move back to the old, disadvantaged area, or any other area. They, however, keep up ties to the old neighborhood which continues to play an important role in these movers' daily lives.

8.1.5. Enjoying community life in the old neighborhood

Whereas talking nostalgically about a place does not include any actual practices, the nostalgic view does have effects and basically translates into practices. Ferda and the other movers frequent other neighborhoods, particularly the old one. In contrast to the middle class Blacks that Lacy (2004) studied in the U.S., this is not a form of '*strategic assimilation*'. Lacy finds that middle class blacks, who have access to white places such as colleges or work, consciously keep ties to the black world. Through interactions in these black spaces, the middle class blacks are able to construct and maintain their black racial identities. In the case of the Turkish-Germans described here, the term strategic assimilation is not apt, mostly because keeping ties to the old neighborhood results from their not feeling welcome in the 'white German spaces'. In contrast to social capital, which the movers readily provide in and to their old neighborhood, frequenting other neighborhoods in order to find public familiarity and a sense of community is perceived as a necessity.

Sampson (2012, 315) points to the possibility that when moving out means moving up, "connections between neighborhoods with dissimilar income levels or racial compositions may be more likely than between neighborhoods with similar status attributes". This is exactly what the bridges of the movers do – they connect their socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods where they live (in the sense of habitation) with their previous, socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods, where they still spend a lot of their (free) time.

'Neukölln is 'Heimat', it's my home neighborhood' – is what Alkalin says and that presents the relation the dissatisfied movers mostly have to their previous neighborhood. Selim says he is and remains *'Kreuzberger'*, and Varol feels *'comfortable'* in his old neighborhood. Emotionally, hence, the identification rests with

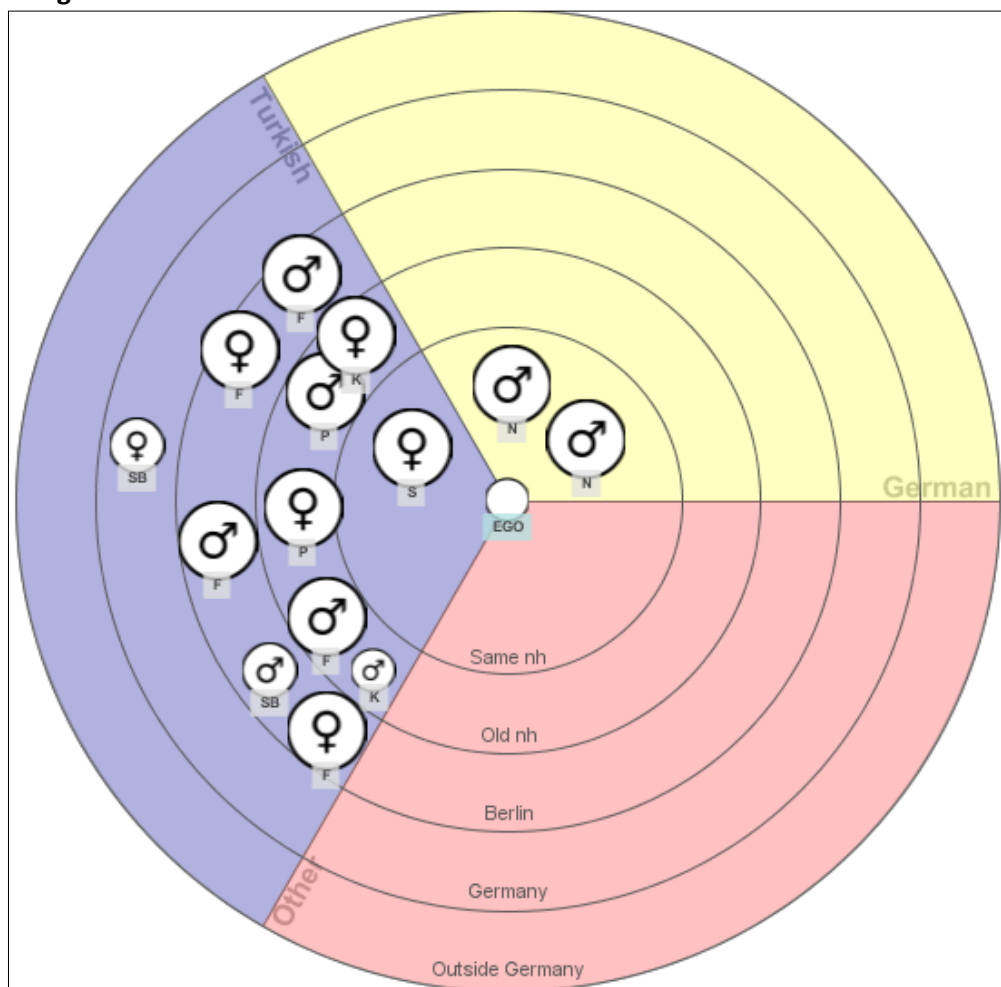
the neighborhood of origin. That old neighborhood did not provide the institutional resources these movers were seeking, but they provided resources for identification.

The main means of bridging back consists of visiting family and friends in the old neighborhood. Varol explains that he always feels better in the neighborhood he has grown up and spent many of his adult years in:

That's the reason why I always feel better in Wedding when I'm there, the neighbourhood is simply so different, you still know the people there, they know you... they know you from childhood, it's just different. The affection for each other.

He often frequents the old neighborhood, and less so invites his friends over to his place. He likes to be in his familiar environment where the atmosphere is better and people are fond of each other. The same is true for Alkalın, whose outward-orientation is reflected in his network:

Figure 11: Alkalın's network



His wife obviously lives in the same neighborhood and apartment. Within the same locality, Alkalın has still some contact to two German neighbors. Many of the most important people, in terms of contact frequency, live in Neukölln, his old neighborhood, such as his parents, some kin and a friend. Some more friends and kin live in other Berlin neighborhoods. No friends or kin live in spatial proximity of his house. Ferda and Varol have a similar network pattern.

Next to keeping family ties and visiting friends in the old neighborhood, political or other voluntary involvement also provides a continued relation to the old place of residence. Enginalp – who does not use his neighborhood except for sleeping – spends his days in his lawyer's office, but most of all in his old neighborhood where he has been politically active for many years. He meanwhile is member of the Berlin Senate. Although he likes to complain about the Neukölln - residents, it becomes clear that he feels much more at home in this environment, and the involvement is very dear to him. What he particularly likes is that people are down to earth, and not as narrow-minded or conniving – the way he describes his neighbors:

If you talk to the old people, who grew up here, if you talk to them, if you do a bar tour and you meet some of them, then you know again where you come from and how good that feels. It's a particular atmosphere, they just talk off the top of their heads, ordinary people, ordinary Neukölln-people. (...) And that's got something, it has soul. And they are much closer to the things than you would think. If you listen carefully, you can learn a lot.

Enginalp and other participants stress the 'being down to earth' of the people they like to interact and socialize with, they have 'soul', as he says. This stands in stark contrast to the present neighborhood's residents which he describes as a 'dishonest shithole'.

Whereas most stayers find plenty of such down-to-earth people in their neighborhood, the movers, who feel they live in neighborhoods with 'bourgeois' and conservative residents, need to use their old neighborhood in order to get the joy of socializing on an 'easy' level. As shown in chapter four, social class identification, and particularly cultural distinction, is not considered to be important. The Turkish-Germans are similar to Lamont's "bearers of morality" who "reject the relevance of class position or social

status for interpersonal assessment” (1992, xxix). The different assessment of the residents in the old neighborhood versus those in the new one bear resemblance to what Zukin (2010, 22) describes for nineteenth-century intellectuals and bohemians who “contrasted authentic, lower-class urban life (...) with what they saw as the overly comfortable, totally conformist lives of the rich”. Just as Zukin claims that the city has lost its soul, these movers feel the same about certain neighborhoods. The residents there do not have soul, which is why they themselves frequent those neighborhoods where they feel they can interact with people who have *soul*.

Oldenburg points to one highly important reward of bridging back and socializing with residents of the old neighborhood. As he explains with respect to third places: “Most enthusiastically greeted is the returning prodigal, the individual who had earlier been a loyal and accepted regular but whom circumstances had, in more recent months, kept away” (Oldenburg 1997, 34). This can be transferred to the neighborhood: the movers are known in their old environment, they have lived there for long periods of their lives and they are always welcome when they ‘visit’ their old home.

Bridging back, frequenting the previous neighborhood, is not without costs, however. In contrast to the black middle class, for whom Pattillo has shown the spatial closeness between working class and middle class neighborhoods, the neighborhoods that the Turkish-Germans connect through bridging are quite far apart. For Chicago, due to the spatial proximity, she claims that for blacks, “daily life is organized to avoid victimization” (Pattillo 2000, 5). In Berlin, however, for most movers, there is a clear spatial distance between the old and new neighborhood, they do not move to an adjacent community, but farther away. Going to Neukölln from Wilmersdorf (Alkalin) or Frohnau (Enginalp), or to Kreuzberg-North from Teltow (Ferda) involves more of an effort and is hence a conscious decision, not just a short stop on the daily rounds.

In summary, we see that these movers do not use the neighborhood as a means for identification. Attachment to place does not develop because there are no third places

to meet, nor are there shared social rounds in daily life. Moreover, the movers are often pioneers in the new neighborhood – they stand out as the other, one of the few Turkish families in a German-dominated neighborhood, and the German residents often view their new neighbors with suspicion. Resulting is a focus on the old neighborhood, which is used both in practical terms and symbolically.

Pattillo's notion of the black broker – middle class African Americans - who lives on the border of two worlds regarding social class can be expanded. Applied to these Turkish-Germans, they do not only connect people from different social classes, but also from different neighborhoods. These "cross-neighborhood spatial ties challenge the traditional "urban village" model that assumes neighborhoods represent intact or insular social systems, functioning as islands unto themselves" (Sampson 2012, 239). Not only through organizational involvement, as we have seen in chapter six, are neighborhoods tied together, but also through daily practices, such as visiting the old neighborhood in order to enjoy moments of sociability, and to feel at home.

In their own neighborhoods, these movers are excluded by their fellow, mostly native-German, residents. Symbolically, they hence cannot develop any belonging to the neighborhood. Within the neighborhood, Varol, Alkalın, or Ferda do hardly find any places they can feel any kind of (s)elective belonging to. Such belonging rests exclusively with the old neighborhood.

The boundary-drawing by native-German neighbors has an effect on the Turkish-Germans' identification. It shows "how interpersonal transactions compound into identities, create and transform social boundaries, and accumulate into durable social ties. (...) individual and collective dispositions result from interpersonal transactions" (ibid., 6f.). The focus on the old neighborhood and other Turkish migrants does not result out of some disposition akin to Turks as an ethnic group (culture), but out of social relations, in this case absent relations.

The rejecting attitude of the native-Germans may also include the Turkish-Germans from important information. The boundary drawing processes of the native-Germans does not exclude the Turkish-Germans from using amenities in the neighborhood such as the school. If, however, the native-German residents want to keep their advantage

and engage in opportunity hoarding, they might not give the Turkish-German parent information on what secondary school is best or how to get the child in. They may thus be excluded from social capital.

What the movers' stories show is that "a change of neighborhood does not necessarily entail a change of "community" – in the sense that people and routines at the center of one's life may not change much at all" (Briggs et al. 2010, 109). The routines that changed are those connected to the children, but for the Turkish-Germans' themselves, the people they like to socialize with in their free-time and the foci of activities did not change. It is the neighborhood left behind that is continuously frequented, as a "second neighborhood" (ibid., 134).

8.2. Life in urban areas: movers' high practical and symbolic neighborhood use

So, we need each other, we need help sometimes, and we need friendships, sometimes just a little smile, a little small talk – 'Hello, how are you?', 'I'm fine'. (Yurday, mover)

The experience of Alkalın, Ferda and the other Turkish-German movers who were not very lucky in their residential choice and hence dissatisfied with their present place of residence, stands in stark contrast to the experience of other Turkish-German movers. These are the movers who have moved to neighborhoods that resemble their old neighborhoods in important aspects: there are many public places where residents meet each other on a regular basis, hence there is public familiarity, and residents engage in small talk and interact with each other. Moreover, the fellow residents are diverse, and apparently appreciate ethnic diversity, since the Turkish-Germans do not feel treated as the 'other'. In some instances, this embracing even facilitates longer-lasting and more intimate friendships. The old neighborhood, then, loses significance and is used neither practically nor symbolically.

Most (but not all!) of the more satisfied movers chose their neighborhood more consciously than the movers described above. Dalim who has grown up in Berlin, but spent some time in Heidelberg for his studies and a few years in Hamburg for work, decided not to move back to his old neighborhood in Wedding, after his former school teacher told him that he should not send his children to the schools there. He and his wife then considered other neighborhoods in the Western part of the city – not only

reading the housing offers, but actually walking around in the neighborhoods, paying attention to whether or not there were a lot of strollers and other child-related objects lying around in the buildings.

Basari made a conscious choice as well: He and his wife were looking for a more bourgeois neighborhood with still affordable housing, which also provided good educational facilities: *'Pankow was the most bourgeois for me, and still cheap, and that has also seen the best development'*. For Basari, the location's perceived social status was decisive. He is satisfied in his neighborhood, and the expectations he had from living in bourgeois Pankow are fulfilled:

I: And, you feel that the residents have a similar idea of how to live their lives?

B: Yes. For example during holidays. You see that many also take a vacation during Easter. Or many parents do support their children with extra private education. It's a higher standard.

Others, such as Lacin or Ozeant frequented the neighborhood they moved into before. So the place played a role already in daily life, as a focus to meet people in cafes and bars, or to go shopping. For them, it was a conscious choice to move to that neighborhood. Ozeant, who meanwhile lives in a bourgeois neighborhood in Tempelhof where she is not very happy, has moved to Kreuzberg-South first, after having grown up in Neukölln. The reason to move to Kreuzberg-South was that she was very fond of the neighborhood:

I had always kept an eye on this neighborhood and I was here often times, in cafes, at the market, in the boutiques. I always found it special here, the street had a very... interesting flair. And I felt drawn to it.

The street Ozeant is talking offers many possibilities for shopping, dining, having coffee. The many possibilities to spend the free-time in the area have made her frequent the neighborhood before.

Behcet and Selami also knew their prospective neighborhood in advance, as a consequence of their work. Behcet had his office in Wilmersdorf before he moved there, whereas real estate developer Selami had some objects in Kreuzberg-South, including the house he now lives in. Hence, they knew that the respective neighborhoods were also good places to live and to raise children.

This brief overview of the initial knowledge of the neighborhoods shows that this group of movers was more or less informed about how the new neighborhood looks like, also in the residents' make-up. This differentiates them from the previously described movers.

However, not all of the now satisfied movers had initial knowledge about the place. Selbi and Bedia, for example, both without children, who moved to Schöneberg-South and Charlottenburg, respectively, selected the neighborhoods by chance. Bedia moved because her boyfriend's grandmother lives there and they had the chance to live in the house as well – for a very low rent. Selbi, on the other hand, did not limit her apartment to a particular neighborhood or district, and simply found a suitable apartment in Schöneberg-South. For Bedia and Selbi, selecting a neighborhood 'by chance' turned out well, mainly because these neighborhoods are also characterized by an urban flair.

8.2.1. Urbanity and public familiarity

Bedia who lives with her boyfriend in Charlottenburg, talks about the relations between fellow residents, as well as with local shop keepers:

Well, in the shops, I basically have some regular shops, the library, a café where I am often, the bakery, there you always talk to people, I like that. But it's a Kiez, it's normal. That's all on a neighborly level, nothing special.

It is interesting to note that the neighborly relations described by Bedia are considered to be normal, it is '*nothing special*'. The expectation is to have interactions with fellow residents or people in the neighborhood that you meet regularly. As we saw for the other movers, such interactions are however not 'normal', and they do not exist in every neighborhood. What Bedia's quote show is that these good relations are the norm – against which different (absent) relations are assessed.

Selbi, a single woman living in Schöneberg-North, likewise thinks about the friendly interactions in her neighborhood as the typical characteristic:

Yes, typical, I would say, is that I meet a lot of people, that I greet, who I talk to. (...) Yes. A lot of small talk, in the bakery, in the kebab snack bar, with the neighbors.

To her, there was almost too much sociability. Even when she only walks along the streets, it might happen that the owner of the kebab snack bar waves and wants to talk to her, just for a brief moment. Out of precaution and to make sure that socializing and small talk remain an end in itself, she puts a ring on the ring finger, pretending that she is not a single woman.

Lacin, living in Kreuzberg-South, likewise was able to quickly establish familiar relations to his fellow residents, and he 'obviously' meets people whenever he is outside:

I: And you know people just by sight?

L: Yes, sure. From shops, storeowners. It's just that you've seen that person. Here in the café. If you've met for a few times, you say hi, even if you don't know the other person well.

Routinized relations between residents, the resulting public familiarity and recurring interactions characterize a 'Kiez' and it is this group of movers that uses this specific term very often. Behcet uses the word 'Kiez' in order to describe the neighborly relations that...

...grow organically. In the moment you only go to Lindenplatz, just to have some ice cream, you meet five, six families, kids, you can gather with them, even if it's just a hello. There is a quiet, pleasant, familial (familiar) atmosphere, it's nice.

Tellingly, Behcet calls this area his 'Kiez', although he and his family do not live there anymore. They have lived close to Lindenplatz for four years and then moved to an adjacent neighborhood. But the children still go to the school in the old one, and daily life is still focused on that 'Kiez'. The new one, in contrast, which is just a 15 minutes' walk away, is described as very quiet, with mainly older residents. Familiarity and sociability are low there, which is why for identification and belonging, Behcet continues to call Lindenplatz his 'Kiez'.

Behcet's quote already hinted at the neighborhood as a place which facilitates interaction between families with children, because parents share daily rounds, or stop at the same cafés. Dalim remembers the round that he used to go for a long time:

In the kindergarten it was like this, I picked up the kids. Then we went our way, passing along this square and you just can't cross it. You know everyone, all the kids know each other, so you sit down in a café (...). We have coffee, the kids play and you're in the Kiez.

And that's really the great thing about this Kiez, and I once called it, like extended living room, in the summer.

Dalim uses almost the same word that Oldenburg uses to describe third places, namely as “an extension of the home” (Oldenburg, 1997: 210). In this case, the built environment supports contact between residents. The square Dalim, and also Behcet, talks about is a blind alley, so there is not much traffic and the end of the street is a place with a fountain in the middle and cafes around. This square then facilitates contact with other residents – who all value a quick chat, or having coffee together. Other movers likewise point to the built environment and how it facilitates interaction. Selami is very fond of the park in front of his house, where people gather and meet. Parks and squares are common meeting places. And since, as Selami notices, *‘life takes place outside’* people actually frequent these places, so that there is always the possibility for contact. What facilitates interaction even more is the presence of children and that parents engage in similar routines and hence share daily rounds.

Nevertheless, even in more residential areas, there can be an urban feeling, if there is public familiarity and some interaction between residents. Mahir has grown up in Kreuzberg-North, and has then moved to the outskirts of Berlin, into a very residential, village-like area, characterized by detached houses with garden. However, he still finds some level of neighborliness there:

It's just as nice, you talk from fence to fence, and I'm really lucky. There is this [Turkish] saying 'Don't' buy the house, buy a neighbor', and we really were lucky in this regard.

Hence, the built environment can facilitate contact, but it is not the only factor that influences whether or not people enjoy a friendly chat and a bit of socializing – the residents have to be open enough to engage in socializing with categorically different people.

8.2.2. Neighborhood (residents) as support network

In neighborhoods with public places, where residents share rounds and public familiarity develops, people do not only share sociable moments, but they also help

out and support each other. Basari gives an example of neighborly support and exchanging small services:

We know each other, and we support each other a lot, I have to say. Because we all have the same interests, the people who live there. And that's why it is a very well-functioning neighborhood. (...) So if the neighbor needs help in the garden, or if he needs a lawn-mower. Or help with cutting roses, how do you cut them? For me as a city person, that was a challenge.

Selami helps his neighbors with questions around real estate. He works as a real estate developer himself, and actually moved into the apartment building because it was his property. When he was the owner and landlord, relations with his immediate neighbors were rather distanced. Then, however, the property was sold and the disliking turned to the new owners. In turn, Selami was perceived differently:

So a few people asked whether I couldn't buy the house back, and then they suddenly started inviting me to barbecues, when the neighbors came together, or when they wanted to join forces against the new owner. Yes, and they all were on a first name basis but I was still 'Mister Yilmaz', even when we met informally, that stuck. Now we have a really good rapport, they all come and ask, because I know a lot about real estate, so they ask, what they can do and I give them suggestions how to fight back.

What Selami exchanges with his residents is instrumental information. His neighbors know that he has knowledge which he is willing to share. In return, they also included him in their 'neighborly community', and now see him as one of them – renters – so he also gets invited to barbecues.

Yurday, owner of a Turkish theater, made it his habit to present himself to all neighbors in a new building, offering some cookies or bringing some Turkish Raki. So far he has only made positive experiences with neighbors, or at least only remembers the positive ones. In his apartment building, neighbors leave the keys, always have an eye on the whole apartment complex, Yurday sometimes gives them theater tickets for free, organizing also the ride to and back from the theatre. He even recounts an incident where his help was life-saving:

That was for example with a woman... an elderly women, she knocked on our wall. So I said 'something is wrong, maybe she needs our help'. She couldn't get up, she had a heart attack, and we saved her. I climbed over the balcony (...). She said 'you saved my life, you are now my son'. I said ,I am your son anyway, you don't have to say that'.

This instance of potentially life-saving help is an extreme example. Mostly, support occurs in more modest forms, as the examples of Basari and Selami have shown.

One important 'driver' of developing a support network is the presence of children. Dalim, who called his residential environment his extended living room, knows that if he or his wife has to work long hours, he can always call people to take care of his two daughters for a few hours. He is also fond of the existing social control, to the advantage of the children. One time, he recalls, his mother-in-law who lives in another town, took care of the children. The children were playing in the area, the grandmother rested a few meters away. Since she was not known in the neighborhood, residents thought that the children were out alone and immediately called Dalim to tell him that:

(M)y mother-in-law took care of the kids. She lives in Frankfurt, so she's not here very often. And unknown to others [in the neighborhood]. (...) Then the children were alone at the square (...) and the grandmother didn't sit at the square, with all the others from the typical clique. She's a bit peculiar, so she sat on another bank. And then I got a call from a neighbor and friend, he said 'Listen, your kids are out here by themselves'. (...) So you know, when the kids are outside, there are always people who know them. They notice things. And I like that. That's also the strength of such a Kiez.

Through shared rounds, frequenting the same foci, but also socializing together, particularly families with children develop a support network. This leads to social control in the neighborhood, which is likewise focused on children. As Kleit has pointed out, "households with children tend to engage in neighboring relations more than do other types of households" (Kleit 2005, 1415).

The local networks of the movers – at least those with kindergarten or school aged children – can be characterized as "'child carers'" for whom "most of their social contacts [are formed] through their children" (Wissink & Hazelzet 2012, 1541). In contrast are the "'neighbours'" (ibid., 1540) networks, which are common among the stayers (see below), where contacts mostly develop through the length of residence, of sharing the same neighborhood with the same people for a long time.

8.2.3. Embracing diversity

Selami mentions the many shops offering something for every standard as a positive characteristic of Kreuzberg-South, thus hinting at a social mix. He himself likes the

organic food stores which he did not find in his previous neighborhood in Tiergarten. He goes on to point out the different lifestyles of residents, which he likewise sees as a plus of the area. Selbi is aware of the social mix in her Schöneberg-South neighborhood, and talks about how her neighbor has a university degree, but the owners of Turkish bakery or kebab snack bar are working class. Mithat, living in a more village-like area at the Southern border to Berlin, mentions the presence of residents with a lower class background:

It's basically one residential area, and it is financed partly by social housing, and the other half is private housing. So we are in private housing. And within social housing there are obviously families like in Neukölln, living from unemployment aid. So it's a colorful mix.

Other than what might be expected, Mithat calls the mix of middle class and lower class residents ‚colorful‘. Instead of distancing himself from the social housing residents, who in daily discourse are often stigmatized, he mentions the presence of them as a plus of the area, because it adds diversity. Mithat can be likened to the middle class residents in a British suburban area with many lower class renter households, studied by Allen et al. (2007). The authors point out that the residents were “far from being ‘distinctive’ housing consumers that were seeking to buy into an area for the purposes of accumulating ‘cultural capital’” (ibid., 248). Rather, the neighborhoods “were valued because they contained, and were surrounded by, copious amounts of green open space” (ibid., 247). Living in a neighborhood with a social mix – including residents with a lower social status is hence about a form of inconspicuous living. Whereas Allen et al. contribute the lack of boundary drawing processes to the small difference in class status between the marginal middle class residents they interviewed and their lower, but working class neighbors, Mithat’s own social status – as the owner of a driving school – clearly differs from the lower class residents. However, since his own family background is that of lower class, it is possible that it is easier for him to accept these residents as neighbors, and not to draw boundaries in order to confirm his own social status. Moreover, as we know that the Turkish-Germans do not easily identify as middle class, because they associate it

with a morally flawed character (chapter four), it makes sense that Mithat values, or at least does not negatively perceive, the presence of lower-class neighbors.

Inconspicuousness is stressed by other movers as well, and can thus also be found in more urban areas. In general, the neighborhoods of the movers are mostly characterized as being typical middle class neighborhoods. What the Turkish-German movers point out, then, is not so much socioeconomic diversity, but a certain 'normalcy' of the residents. Selami illustrates this for Kreuzberg-South:

Upper class people wouldn't move there, they would move to Grunewald, and buy a villa for a few million. But there are also people who are rich, they want to stay in this area, they want to live inconspicuously. So I think we live among like-minded people here. Yes. They like the ambiance there, the feeling of living there, it's laid-back. It's more laid-back than in Prenzlauer Berg. It got more bourgeois there. And Steglitz is also different.

Selami explicitly points to the inconspicuous live of the residents. Living in Kreuzberg-South is for those people who do not need to show off, presenting their social status by visible symbols such as a villa or a fancy car. The consumption of luxury goods and showing them off is a middle class practice presented as "pejorative" (Devine 2004, 206). Living inconspicuously is similar to the stressing of residents being down-to-earth, having worked hard for their money and career. The residents have *soul* – just what the other group of moves so clearly misses. Dalim, who has anything but a straight-line educational career, points to the particular class-background of his fellow residents:

These are really all people who have developed. Yes, that's what, I believe, is characteristic for this Kiez. It's not this old money, and the people are really not traditional graduates, like 'I'm from a professor's family' or something like that. It's not like that.

Dalim actually makes fun of himself, or rather the 'German-bourgeois' education program he and his wife are giving their children. His two daughters each learn an instrument, violin and piano. Moreover, together with a family they are friends with, they bought an apartment on a horse ranch in Brandenburg where they can spend the weekend and the girls can do horseback riding, 'which is nice, but it's not the typical Turkish socialization. And it's not the Turkish way of life in Germany'. Dalim and others, although he is very successful in his job, is not yet member of an established middle

class. He is first generation middle class and had a complicated way to get there. That is why he appreciates the company of people who have also worked their way up. At the same time, it is also the reason for his emotional distance towards the educational program he and his wife are offering their children. Dalim's example, which is true for the sample as whole, confirms the finding of Lamont (1992, 7), that a person's "social trajectory clearly affects definitions of high status signals". As mentioned in chapter four, neither for self-identification nor categorizing other people are socioeconomic or cultural markers primarily important. It is about notions of morality, of being upright, not forgetting one's roots and working one's way up.

Next to socioeconomic or lifestyle diversity, the positive characteristic of the neighborhoods is ethnic diversity. Behcet stresses the neighborhood's ethnic diversity:

Many Russians moved in, personally I like that, that's okay. (...) Yes, there are Russians, Vietnamese, Koreans, Germans of course, the share of Turks has increased a lot, which is good. There are many Asians, and the rest you can't see it on their faces (...). It's a very intellectual Kiez, you have French people, Spaniards, a European cross-section. You just don't see it, it is not the classic foreigner, you just can't tell, but the diversity of languages at the Lindenplatz is really great.

Behcet's quote shows that the residents are ethnically diverse, but less so in economic or cultural capital, which is why he calls his 'Kiez' an '*intellectual*' one.

The embracing of ethnic diversity – by the Turkish-Germans as well as the neighborhoods' population in general – is important because it makes the neighborhood a place with which the Turkish-Germans can identify, where their self-identification as bi-cultural can be reflected in actual practices.

To underline this, it is interesting to look at Lacin and Ozeant. Lacin now lives in Kreuzberg-South, but has had a 'stopover' in Mariendorf, whereas Ozeant has lived in Kreuzberg-South but is now in Tempelhof. So both know two kinds of socioeconomically advantaged areas, and it is clear that only Kreuzberg-South is a neighborhood they can also identify with.

In Mariendorf, Lacin was one of the few young people, and of the very few ethnic minority residents in the area - an exception he was quickly made aware of:

L: And where I've lived before, Mariendorf, that was crass. I was in a building with many pensioners. They really had a different attitude.

I: German pensioners?

L: Yes, mainly. I really did experience a lot of stuff. That was really crass, to experience stuff like that in our times. I quickly felt this 'Turk-thing' there. (...) So there was a shopping bag, somebody just threw it away, a box basically. And the next day, I see this in front of my door, I lived on the attic, like 'Come on, throw away your trash elsewhere'.

In his present neighborhood Kreuzberg-South he has never had any experience with discrimination. In contrast, people are open and he feels that his ethnic background does not play a role. This is also what Ozeant experienced in Kreuzberg-South. She moved out of Kreuzberg just because she had a job in another German city. After a few months, she returned to Berlin, and out of practicality moved into her brother's apartment in Tempelhof. The experience there is nothing like that in Kreuzberg-South:

Maybe it's harder for me to be accepted there, but I also don't even want to if I look at the people there. I think they're all very self-absorbed. Here in Kreuzberg-South everybody really enjoyed knowing each other. Even with the neighbors in the house, relations were really good, we made friends, you could always stop by and ask... In Tempelhof I don't know anybody in the house.

The diverse neighborhood is a place free of hostility and racism, a place where people feel at home and like to spend time. In contrast to the previously described group of movers, for whom the neighborhood is a place where they are confronted with hostility and discrimination, Behcet and others find their place of residence to be a 'safe' place. They have made and continue to make experiences with discrimination and racism in various domains of their lives, but there is no 'risk' of facing hostile behavior from fellow residents.

For this group of movers, the neighborhood is a place they use for practical and symbolic reasons. Because children and child-related institutions play a large role in these movers' lives, they regularly encounter and interact with other parents and neighbors on their daily rounds. Public familiarity develops and residents share moments of sociability. Even more than that, a denser support network develops.

Due to the good infrastructure, including child-related institutions, and the well-functioning community life, the social organization of daily life of these movers is indeed very local. In contrast to the previously described movers, they are not nostalgic about life in the old neighborhood, and hence do not frequent it much.

Due to the ethnic diversity in the neighborhood, which the Turkish-Germans feel is also valued by the local native-Germans, they use the neighborhood symbolically to identify, to stress their bicultural background. In contrast to the findings of studies on urban white middle classes, who rhetorically like and seek diversity, but which does not get mirrored in their daily practices and networks (Blokland & van Eijk 2010; Butler 2003), the Turkish-Germans actually seek interactions with ethnically diverse residents.

8.3. (Inter-) Resume: The neighborhood in-between private and public space

How can we explain the stark differences between the two groups of movers? The accounts have shown that the Turkish-Germans connect the 'Kiez', the neighborhood, to a particular kind of social relations. They expect a certain a "*normative set of interactive practices*" (Kusenbach 2006, 282, italics in original) to be present in a neighborhood. The neighborhood, then, is supposed to be more than just "an *area* within a local community", and should ideally contain a "*specific type of social relationships, which make up a real social institution*" (Heberle 1960, 3, italics in original).

For relationships to develop in a neighborhood, the built environment has to provide public or third places, and these have to be frequented by the residents. If that is the case and residents regularly encounter each other, public familiarity develops and this again can then lead to sociability, when residents interact to share some small talk, for example.

To capture these particular relations, we have to move beyond the separation of the public and private sphere. Feld (1981) has described the neighborhood as one of the foci that play a role in people's lives. Focusing on interactions, Lofland (1998, 11) defines the neighborhood as a parochial space, which is "*characterized by a sense of commonality among acquaintances and neighbors who are involved in interpersonal*

networks that are located within “communities”. Interactions are not dominated by brief encounters as in the public realm, where people remain biographical and cultural strangers, and they are not as intimate as relations in the private sphere. As the difference between the movers show, a neighborhood can *potentially* be a parochial realm, but it can also be characterized by relations typical for either the public or private realm. Which relations predominates is never fixed, but subject to change.

As Allen et al. (2007) claim, urban scholars have largely missed out on identifying social relationships between neighbors that may be important to the construction of self-identification, mainly because local relationships are considered to have decreased in importance. That these relations are indeed important has been shown with the example of the Turkish-German movers.

Kusenbach is one of the few who has studied interaction principles in the parochial realm of a neighborhood. Based on ethnographic research in two Californian neighborhoods, she found four principles of neighboring: friendly recognition, parochial helpfulness, proactive intervention, and embracing or resisting diversity (Kusenbach 2006). These principles of interaction are built on Lofland’s interaction principles for the public realm, but are more communal and more personal.

Blokland and Nast (2014, n. pg.) do not talk about the neighborhood as a parochial realm, but as a “comfort zone”, which “is determined by everyday encounters, not individual residential biographies and personal networks”.

For the Turkish-Germans, these everyday encounters are crucial for developing a feeling of home and identification with the neighborhood. As Blokland and Nast point out, these encounters can be more important than actual networks. It is public familiarity and shared moments of sociability, which are sufficient for the Turkish-Germans to feel part of a community.

The movers in the residential neighborhood bemoan that they do not have such everyday encounters. For the movers in the urban neighborhoods, in contrast, such everyday encounters go beyond public familiarity, and a support network develops, largely driven by interactions between parents in child-related institutions. This is

similar to the parochial helpfulness and proactive intervention that Kusenbach (2006) found as interaction principles.

The stayers, as we will see in the following section, also value public familiarity and the emerging feeling of community. Their relations with fellow residents result more out of the length of residence than out of being in the same life cycle stage as the fellow residents. This is why the quality of the relations and interactions are again different from that of the movers in the urban areas.

8.4. Stayers: Community life and aversion to neighborhood change

Broadly speaking, the stayers identify with their neighborhoods. They use place to symbolically confirm and strengthen their identities. For them, neighborhood is not just place for the functions and practicalities of everyday life, but a place where they encounter their fellow residents in cafes, shops, bars, or simply in the streets, and where public familiarity leads to a feeling of community.

Within the group of stayers, Umut and Ceyda are not satisfied with their respective place of residence. These two stayers present contrasting cases to the other stayers. Analyzing them as well shows what happens to identification if certain features of a neighborhood do not exist.

Asked what they liked particularly about their neighborhoods, the stayers mentioned features such as ethnic and lifestyle diversity, that residents and shop owners know each other, that there is life outside in the streets, and that you always meet people who are up for a quick chat. Since the stayers are mostly satisfied with their neighborhood life, they are weary of (potential) changes which are connected to questions of ownership, and they are sometimes nostalgic about how neighborhood life used to be, two issues that will be addressed in this chapter. Before, I will analyze the neighborly relations in the stayers' neighborhoods and in what ways they identify with their respective places of residence.

8.4.1. Public familiarity and shared moments of sociability

Sati, who has been living in Wedding almost all her life, talks about the friendly recognition (Kusenbach 2006) in the forms of greeting other people that characterize her daily walk from the metro station to her apartment:

Well, when I get off the subway and walk home, I say hi to at least five people. I don't necessarily know or hang out with them privately, not at all actually, but we know each other and we say hi when we meet.

The important point is that it is not about knowing fellow residents privately. People know each other from walking around in the neighborhood, from the sidewalk, and that is why they greet each other – as neighbors. They do not necessarily have knowledge about the occupations of these people or what they do in private life.

Nursel grew up in Schöneberg-North, where she still lives with her mother. Due to the length of residence, and her political involvement in and for the area, she knows most of the residents, and is a 'local character' herself. She says that whenever she is outside, *'something is always going on in the streets. And you know everybody and everybody is always ready for some small talk'*. The people she interacts with are residents she meets in the streets, in shops and stores, or when she goes to a community board meeting. Nursel has not developed more intimate ties with these residents, they do not meet at home. Most of her friends live in other Berlin neighborhoods. Her neighbors do not belong to her inner circle of friends, and she does not know them privately.

Now take the negative example of Ceyda. She is living in the Southern part of Neukölln, an area that is very residential. In contrast to the more central parts of Neukölln, the population includes a high share of elderly native-Germans. Ceyda has been living in the area for 13 years now, and finds that relations between residents remain distanced:

C: I've been living in the same apartment for 13 years now, but they don't want to, I don't know, this neighborhood, the relations... if they see me here, then it's only 'Hello'. Not all of them, maybe three or four.

I: Of the people living in the apartment building?

C: Yes.

I: And in the streets, do you meet people there?

C: No.

This 'hello', according to Ceyda, is often an afflicted one, not a friendly one. What Ceyda misses is sociability between residents. Since people recognize each other there is some level of public familiarity. However, residents do not talk to each other, there are no sociable moments. Blokland and Nast (2014, n.pg.), writing about the neighborhood as comfort zone say that "the comfort zone does not need to be a site that we like, nor one that we can identify with". Ceyda is an example of people for whom identification and comfort are linked. She does not like her neighborhood, does not identify with it, and consequently does not feel 'comfortable' living there. It is her son, who goes to school in the area, which is the main reason for her not to move out.

Living in a neighborhood for a long time, being on good terms with fellow residents and engaging in friendly recognition and sociability can have a disadvantage, however. In these neighborhoods, the stayers are not anonymous, and there is no chance to quickly run some errands or attend to other things, without getting caught up in some sort of small talk.

Mehri stresses right at the start of the interview that he has been born and raised in Kreuzberg-North. Except for a short episode in another Berlin neighborhood, he has always lived there. We met in a local café, famous for its events for the Turkish as well as the queer community. The interview got interrupted many times because Mehri and his wife, who accompanied him, were greeted by many people, who also expected a quick small talk. Apparently the situation from the café can be transferred to the neighborhood level:

I: So you already know many people here [café], how is it in the neighborhood in general?

M: Yes, through soccer as well. Well, there are several factors. I grew up here, so I know many people. Then I got to know even more through playing and teaching soccer. And the work in the soccer club, you just know a bunch of people. It's hardly possible to walk around here anonymously.

I: And you find that good, or bad?

M: Now that I'm older, it's okay. When I was younger, there was a time when I hated it. (...) Sometimes you have the urge to be anonymous. And here I am not anonymous.

High levels of familiarity and sociability come at the expense of anonymity. Baysan refers to the Turkish shop keepers that he, just as other stayers, often frequents to do the grocery shopping. Here as well, the issue of sociability can be unnerving:

Or it annoys you sometimes that they always want to chat with you. You can never have a simple sale transaction, but they always joke around with you, make some stupid comments, just anything. And sometimes you are also annoyed by that.

Nasir was surprised how much the neighbors knew about him, even though they hardly ever met. Meanwhile married and father of a young child, he moved into the apartment as a young, single student – which was reflected in his lifestyle. He used neither the neighborhood nor his apartment very often, because he was studying during the day, and partying at night:

At 10 p.m. turning on the light quickly, taking a shower, and out again, taking a cab. And they kind of noticed that. So on a Sunday we went to have a look at a car, the seller lives right across the street. And he knew, he didn't know me personally, but he knew which apartment I was living in and basically who I was. (...) I was a bit perplexed. Everybody knows each other.

Although Nasir hardly interacted face-to-face with his fellow residents, they still noticed him in the neighborhood, and due to his daily routine, developed some categorical knowledge, such as that he was single.

Summarizing, the stayers highly value public familiarity and the resulting sociability in their neighborhoods. Although the cost is a lack of anonymity, and there is a pressure to always engage in small talk with fellow residents, the positive aspects of the interactions between neighbors weigh more.

8.4.2. Trusting relations between fellow residents

Due to the length of residence, and the good relations between residents, the neighbors are more than people you meet in the streets from time to time. Relations to immediate neighbors are stable enough, so that they can be turned to when help and support is needed. More than that, however, it is the whole neighborhood which presents a support network. Even people who are not personally known to the person may be asked for help. The neighborhood is perceived as a community, and

community-members are expected to support others. A crucial basis for that is trust between residents. A “person can perceive trust and infer shared expectations about public behaviour without having to know their neighbors in the “urban village” sense of cohesion (Sampson 2012, 153). This is the case in the stayers’ neighborhoods. As pointed out before, residents do not know each other privately, they do not live in an ‘urban village’, but they interact to a degree that establishes trust, and shared expectations about community life.

For forms of support which require trust, such as borrowing things, leaving a key, etc., immediate neighbors play an important role. Research has shown, that spatial proximity, such as living in the same building, may be a reason to avoid contact to immediate neighbors, because they might know too much about us, or because socializing with neighbors takes up time and this time is preferably invested in relationships with closer friends or family members (cf. Andreotti et al. 2013, 56; Sampson 2012, 151). This, however, does not seem to be a reasoning for the Turkish-German stayers.

Baysan enthusiastically talks about the good relations and helpfulness that exists between the people living in his building:

We have a great community in the building itself. And I absolutely love that. (...) You know each other, you support each other, you... it’s slowly emerging. We’ve only been in that building for a year, but we already met so many people. (...) The direct neighbors on the same floor, they visit us, we water their plants when they are gone, and they ours. When we had our housewarming party, they said ‘Come on, you can put the dishes in our dishwasher’, that was so nice.

In this case, neighborly relations are very positive. That is the case even though neighbors are in different life stages. Baysan and his girlfriend do not (yet) have children, but many of the other couples living there have one or more children. That is not a reason not to interact. In contrast, it is rather a reason to give a 'babysitting-voucher' as birthday present to a couple with children, so that they can enjoy a 'child-free' evening, while Baysan and girlfriend watch the child. Meanwhile, relations are well established, so that Baysan even starts to think that *‘Man, I would really like to go*

have an after-work-beer with them'. For Baysan, the residents within the building present a community, and relations get a quasi-private character.

For other stayers, relations with immediate neighbors still include a certain distance, and are characterized by friendly recognition and the helpfulness of leaving a key when on holidays and watering flowers, as Tekay's account illustrates:

Well, you greet everyone. Visiting... rather not. But there are also neighbors where we deposited the keys, just to be safe, in case you lock yourself out. Or one neighbor is often away, so she lets me know and I feed her cat, that's something we do. Or when I'm gone, she feeds my cat. So that's based on reciprocity, I also have their keys.

Tekay points to the important fact that these little services are reciprocal, a neighbor gives and takes. Although good relations with immediate neighbors are valued, they are not always easy to establish. Particularly in neighborhoods with high fluctuations of residents, it is more difficult to get to know the neighbors more than just categorically. Ozanay who lives in Kreuzberg-North feels that the fluctuation has increased in his apartment building, which he perceives as a negative development:

O: Honestly, I had contact with the neighbors in the beginning, there was a lot of contact. Ever since... they both moved. I don't know my neighbors anymore. If I see them in the hallway, I don't know them. And here, every two, three, six months they move because it is too expensive. (...)

I: Do you regret that?

O: Yes, of course.

The problem in this case is the "short shadow of the future" (Nieuwenhuis et al. 2013, 2906). If people do not know whether they themselves or their neighbors will be living in the apartment or the neighborhood for a longer time, there is no reason for increased contact. Rather, residents stick to themselves, which the Turkish-Germans regret and devalue as too individualistic a lifestyle.

Good relations with immediate neighbors are, in summary, appreciated. They are a sign of a functioning small-scale community. However, close relations as Baysan has them with his neighbors, are the exception. In general, there is not much socializing with the immediate neighbors. More prevalent is the exchange of friendly greetings and small services of support. Sometimes, relations between neighbors hardly develop at all,

because of high fluctuations of residents. In that sense, it may be easier to build and keep up relations to neighbors in the wider sense – people who live in the area. Referring to the *shadow of the future*, it might be easier to recognize those residents in the neighborhood at large who might be there for a longer time, who are interested in building some kind of neighborly relations, and who apparently care about neighborhood life. These are the people that you meet often times, because of shared rounds and repeated interactions. As Sampson (2012, 135) points out with reference to collective efficacy, what matters is “repeated interactions, observations of interactions, and an awareness of potential interactions that could be invoked”. When residents meet each other regularly, and interact, they develop a sense of the other’s expectations of neighborhood life, about their ideas of norms and control.

Forms of trust are particularly interesting if they cross boundaries: if they develop with residents who are categorically different, such as in ethnic background. For that to happen, length of residence is crucial because it makes people feel comfortable, regarding the categorically other as a normalcy, not as a stranger or a threat. Sati sees as one characteristic of her Wedding-neighborhood the high presence of Lebanese migrants. For her this is not a negative aspect, since over a long period of time, she developed good relations with them:

For me personally, I perceive that as neutral, because I grew up with them. I know most of them, or know the families; I played with them in the playgrounds. We somehow have contact and relations. For example, if I don’t wanna go to the bank and it is 11pm, I call the pizza place down there, tell them ‘please bring me a pizza, you get the money tomorrow’. And they are also Lebanese. (...) And they are more religious than I am and they don’t eat [gelatin], but there is no tension or anything, because I forget that sometimes and offer them gummy bears and they say ‘no, no’, that’s okay.

Although Sati still talks about the Lebanese residents as ‘they’, and stresses the categories that make them different to herself such as their ethnic and religious background, which could potentially be reasons for conflict, relations are very relaxed, extend to some small services, and are built on mutual trust – as the example with the pizza shows that only gets paid the next day. This kind of trust which is needed for a certain degree of helpfulness is comparable to what Jacobs (1992) describes when

talking about storekeepers where people leave their keys for others to pick up. The parties involved, such as Sati and the Lebanese owners of the pizza place, do not know each other privately, but public familiarity has established a kind of trust that allows small services or favors. According to Kusenbach (2006, 293) “(t)he practice of giving and receiving neighborly favors (.) transcends individual transactions, spinning a network of mutual obligation and gratitude that in turn builds up community”, which is common for the parochial realm of a neighborhood. In the public sphere, people usually do not feel obliged to help out a stranger, but the specific set of interactions between neighbors includes the exchange of small services. At the same time, the feeling of community exists without relations becoming private, helpfulness is not overstretched so that no interests or duties emerge that would stretch into the private realm.

Nevcan's example of practical support in the neighborhood shows well that such support does is not dependent on private relations. In contrast, in such instances, ‘community’ exists for just a brief moment and then vanishes again:

This cabinet [points to a huge, wooden one in her living room], it is very old and from old, massive wood. So we had to lift it up to the fourth floor, and I had only one friend with me. So I told some young guys in the street ‘Can you help us?’, and within a minute it was in my apartment.

Nevcan did not ask any specific people that she knew well before, but asked ‘symbolic personalities’ (Simmel 1949). It was not about the particular persons, but about the type of persons, as members of the community. Nevcan feels that she could ask any group of young people to help her and believes that they would all do so (whether or not that is indeed true is another issue). Exchanging services is not based on strong ties, and neither does it lead to the development of those. Supporting each other is based on shared ideas and norms about neighborhood life, which could only develop because residents regularly encountered each other in public places and public familiarity developed. Nevcan believes that this kind of helpfulness is particular to her neighborhood, and that in Mitte, the adjacent, socioeconomically more advantaged district where she thinks about moving when her son reaches school age, she would be called ‘crazy’ to ask random residents for help - she believes that there is no (imagined)

neighborly community (Anderson 2006). In her Wedding-neighborhood, in contrast, Nevcan and the residents were successful in turning the potential environment of their neighborhood to an effective environment, “that version of the potential environment that is perceived, conceived – and created by users” (Gans 1993, 27).

The cited examples show that community is about *doing*: “It is in and out of what people do that a shared sense of things and a shared symbolic universe emerge. It is in talking together about ‘community’ – which is, after all, a public doing – that its symbolic value is produced and reproduced” (Jenkins 1996 cited in Blokland 2003b, 63). The stayers and their fellow residents, through public doing – being out in the streets, regularly encountering each other and interacting – develop an image of their neighborhood as community. Through these public doings, familiarity emerges, which is the pre-condition for the development of trust between residents, which enables, for example, the exchange small services - a characteristic of the neighborhood as parochial realm (Kusenbach 2006).

Since the sense of community is an important part of the Turkish-Germans’ self-identification, the neighborhood can be symbolically used to strengthen this identity. Adding to the symbolic use of the neighborhood is that these are characterized by diverse residents, which the stayers stress as a positive attribute – the topic of the following part.

8.4.3. Embracing diversity with limits

Living with categorically different groups, but still establishing relations is what ‘cityphile’ sociologists see as advantage of city life (Jacobs 1992; Lofland 1998; Oldenburg 1997; Sennett 1992). The stayers indeed value the diversity they find in their neighborhoods. The presence of different social, ethnic and lifestyle groups is highly valued, as Baysan shows:

It’s really interesting, to see them [Roma]. That’s really a lifestyle that is from such a different, contrarian milieu. So on Kaiserstrasse you have a new store, eh... veggie-pizza or slicy-veggie, something like this, so it’s obvious which milieu that is. And then the tourists are sitting there, the hipsters and so on. And right next to it you see the chilling Sinti and Roma-kids, who hang around and seem bored. That’s awesome. And next to it again the Turkish fruit and green grocer’s shop. That’s awesome. I really like that.

These kinds of diversity – ethnic, social, and lifestyle – are the three kinds stressed by other stayers as well. Nevcan explicitly mentions the ethnic diversity, symbolized by the use of many different languages in her neighborhood:

Meanwhile, it got more colorful. So now there are also Germans moving to Wedding, also other nationalities. And I like that a lot. You also hear people speaking English in the streets, tourists came into my store, they were speaking English, and that adds a bit of life, I like that.

In general, the in-movement of German households is seen as something positive, since it is a sign for an increased attractiveness of the neighborhood. Sibel has – with short breaks – lived in Wedding since 1972 and is clear about the direction of change:

There was always a mix in Wedding, but during certain times, there were many foreigners and less Germans, you really saw that in the streets. And when the Germans had left, there were many with a very low education, so basically the social outcasts.

Meanwhile, however, there are many more native-German families moving into the area, a development that Sibel appreciates. Since she also has a dog that she walks daily and which serves as a 'broker' for contacts, she knows that many of these new German residents have a university degree or are still studying. So there is a social and ethnic change that Sibel perceives as an improvement of the neighborhood.

Erol likewise values the influx of German families to his area in Kreuzberg-North and the increased diversity that comes with it:

There are many Germans, definitely. (...) There are more Germans than foreigners, it's just that the Turks and Arabs still make the money here in Luisenstrasse, with gastronomy, and other stores, and the Germans are the ones who consume that stuff. Earlier, it was all Turkish. (...) There is more diversity, there are new burger bars, that's cool. (...) There are cafes, more and more people are coming. And it's not as dangerous anymore as it used to be, because there are so many Germans here now.

The influx of Germans is not only associated with more ethnic diversity, but also with an increased sense of security. Erol also points to the change in the infrastructure, and particularly the opening of new bars and cafes.

Some stayers are more suspicious about the influx of new residents, particularly if they perceive them as the pioneers of gentrification. The Turkish-Germans living in Neukölln

or Kreuzberg-North are well aware of neighborhood changes, such as the in-movement of new, economically established people. This development is perceived as a threat to the existing social and ethnic diversity. Devran notices changes that he perceives as a threat to the diversity in Neukölln, which is why he stresses diversity as a positive characteristic of the area even more:

It's not so homogeneous, I like that a lot. Especially the smaller streets, (...) they are still more coined by the traditional Neukölln-renters. In my area, there are many, many pensioners. My direct relation is Gartenstrasse, this is also pretty mixed. At the moment you see that there are more and more young students and people from a similar milieu moving in. But there are still many, many migrant families and many pensioners, also migrant pensioners. So it's still different to right at the canal, there it's really German-German.

That ethnic diversity is very influential on neighborhood attachment is underlined by the example of Atalay. After having grown up in a neighborhood with a high share of native-Germans, he moved to Kreuzberg-North in his early twenties. At first, he was very wary if not shocked by the high presence of other Turkish migrants. He did not feel comfortable and did not do much in his neighborhood. His focal points in daily life were the private spaces of his office and apartment. Through the years, however, he has seen a more diverse population in the neighborhood and feels that the Turkish migrants have changed in attitude and become more open, meaning less traditional and more appreciating of different lifestyles. This changed Atalay's neighborhood use:

A few years ago, I didn't want to get involved in anything here, I just didn't want to, but through the diversity, this interest, you take your time. And suddenly you get to know this culture, these different people. And that brings you further, I believe. And that's what I like in this area, in this environment.

Ethnic and cultural diversity are valued, and it contributes to an increased tolerance of categorically different people. The appreciation of diversity, however, has its limits. Atalay only began to value diversity when he noticed that particularly the Turkish residents became less traditional and conservative, and more similar to him. Other quotes showed that the presence and influx of German residents is valued because it increases a neighborhood's attractiveness and security.

If diversity is brought by groups that are perceived as problem groups, diversity can become a negative aspect. Nursel, for example, finds that the problem with prostitution – which a particular street in her neighborhood is known for – is getting worse because it is spreading locally:

During the last five, six years, it spread to Kantstrasse, and then really 24 hours. So it's not anymore that you only have the ladies at night, but also during the day. Plus, in Wolfstrasse, there is now the drag-mile. That's also new. And yes, this is changing. It's a negative aspect.

Baysan, although he likes the 'chilling Roma-kids' in his Neukölln neighborhood, realizes that the presence of Roma migrants, who he believes are mostly poor and living from welfare, can become a problem in the neighborhood. He is hoping that the state supports them enough so that the children do not become a 'lost generation'.

The appreciation of ethnic diversity also has a limit with regard to Arab migrants. Historically, the relations between Turkey and the Arab world have been characterized by conflict (Akgün & Gündogar 2013; Jung 2005; Sayari 1997). These conflictual relations are partly reflected in the thinking about and daily interactions with Arab migrants. Ozanay complains about absent relations. He would like to have more ties to fellow residents, excluding, however, Arab migrants:

O: I just don't like Arabs. Brutal...

I: You made experiences yourself?

O: I saw it, not with me, but I saw it. For example, if I see young people, only Arabs, I don't pass by. Maybe my thinking is wrong. Maybe it's stupid. But they are like that. Not all of them, but 60% of the young ones, that I've seen, they are loud, they don't care about rules.

For Umut, one of the two stayers who are dissatisfied with their neighborhood, the perceived high share of Arab migrants likewise is a negative factor:

Well, we have many Arab residents. And you have to differentiate. Because my hairdresser is Arab, Syrian. He is very mild. (...) Crime, or violence, not criminality, is normal for them. If we [Turks] argue with each other, we part after that. But for them, arguing immediately involves beating, knocking someone out.

Arab migrants, and particularly younger ones, are thought to be prone to violence. Their presence in a neighborhood is perceived as a negative characteristic. Nevertheless, even this seemingly strict boundary is porous. Particularly when talking

about discrimination and racism, Turks and Arabs are often mentioned in tandem. Arab migrants, despite the negative view, are seen as a migrant group that faces equal discrimination and hostility as do Turkish migrants. Even though Arabs are not preferred as fellow residents, there is still some emotional connection, based on (assumed) similar experiences of marginalization.

The appreciation of diversity has another dimension that we see when looking at the exception. Ceyda lives in a neighborhood that resembles those of the dissatisfied movers (except for its socioeconomic status): dominated by native-Germans, and more residential. She is the only stayer not living in a diverse neighborhood, and does not like the experience:

Yes, so sometimes they make stupid comments. For example, elderly people, if you enter the metro, you go to the bus station, and when they come by, they always make the move with their shoulder 'Go away, make space'. Or one time, in the bus, there were two women, talking in Bulgarian or Yugoslav, and then this elderly German woman said 'We don't speak Turkish here'. So I got really angry, I said 'Hello, I'm Turkish. They are not talking in Turkish, or I would have understood. You can't just call any foreigner Turkish. Those aren't Turks'. And then she said 'Get out of here, Turks'. Things like that happen.

The other stayers have also had experiences with discrimination. However, they did not include experiences made in the neighborhood, through fellow residents. The neighborhood is a safe space where one can live and move without fear of hostility or racism solely on the basis of looking Turkish. The neighborhoods are characterized by 'commonplace diversity' (Wessendorf 2013) – the Turkish migrants appreciate or at least accept all other ethnic groups, and they are likewise appreciated or accepted.

8.4.4. Neighborhood changes, nostalgia and questions of ownership

Since the stayers feel belonging to their neighborhood and enjoy the communal relations between residents, they feel ambivalent or negative about neighborhood changes. Most stayers mentioned that their neighborhoods were experiencing upgrading – more native-Germans with higher economic or cultural capital moving in, higher rents, more tourism, and gentrification. For the long-time residents, these

changes are a possible threat: “In transforming neighbourhoods, such groups increasingly become (...) defensive towards the changes they experience, and see such changes as alienation. While these changes do not alter their everyday local routines and practices (...), and do not reduce their friendships, they do affect their sense of ‘ownership’ and power to define the neighbourhood symbolically as well as their overall expectation of others” (Blokland & Nast 2014, n.pg.).

Mehri is very suspicious about the changes he has perceived in his long-term neighborhood Kreuzberg-North. He sees these changes as a threat to the good relations between residents:

In my home, where I grew up, we had good relations with the neighbors, all of them. There were 12, 13 families. Greek families were part of it as well, Indian families. Even the Germans who lived there belonged to us as well. We greeted each other, had a chat, shared things. That was a different world. It was like a real family. (...) And that's all falling apart. It's also this anonymous life of all the people here, those constantly moving students. I mean, how can anything develop then?

Mehri particularly blames students, but also tourists for these negative developments, saying that these two groups are responsible that Kreuzberg-North is meanwhile famous for its party scene and lifestyle:

If I walk around in the streets and see the people who come here to party, I could punch them all. That's what I want to do when I walk around at night. (...) Because that's not my Kreuzberg, that's not what the people here live for.

Mehri and his spouse even thought about moving out of Kreuzberg-North, but then decided to stay when they realized that the residents stopped being ‘lethargic’ and started demonstrating and organizing against changes, such as rising rents. This resistance, for them, is a sign that people still feel belonging to and want to own the neighborhood, and that they do not want to lose their community:

There was always some protest movement, something was always going on. And then there was a phase in Kreuzberg where people became apathetic. (...) That was also a phase where we thought, it's enough, we want to leave Kreuzberg. And then it evolved again, because people realized, okay, others progressively influence our lives, so it started again slowly. And that tied us to the place again, because we realized that the people still have energy, they can do things. And that's why we decided to stay after all.

He and his wife, under the banner and in collaboration with *türkiyemspor*, support the protests against forced evictions. To him, these demonstrations make him fond of the neighborhood. He now feels that the residents do not let changes – gentrification – happen, without getting involved or protesting, but that they stand up for their right to stay there. The issue is tied to that of symbolic ownership. According to Mehri, Kreuzberg-North belongs to the long-term residents, and any influence through the influx of students or tourists should be resisted.

Just as Mehri, Tekay is rather weary of the influx of (international, national, and internal) tourists to her neighborhood at the border of Kreuzberg-North and Neukölln. Talking about the people in the neighborhood who walk around at night, with their beer bottles, she says:

Sometimes I still find it funny, sometimes it's just annoying. (...) meanwhile with all the tourists, there are many snack bars and places where you get things to go, (...) and then they sit on some steps and eat and drink, and camp there for a while. And if it gets really bad, you choke it out again, if they had enough alcohol. That's a bit annoying. There have always been crazy people here, but they were crazy from their attitudes or their outfits, but... they were never weird. I don't know how to put it. They still belonged to the neighborhood and the people I find annoying, they mostly don't belong here.

Again, the issue of symbolic ownership comes up, when Tekay differentiates between people who 'belong' to the neighborhood and those who do not.

Atalay is not as critical of the influx of tourists in his neighborhood, since he also perceives them as adding to the area's diversity. However, there are certain streets in his neighborhood that he tries to avoid, because there is no social mix anymore, and the shops only cater to tourists. This has a negative influence on relations between residents, on the sociability that he is used to:

I particularly see it in Luisenstrasse. There are more tourists than locals, I have to admit that. And I hate it, this... I really liked to go there, but now it is mass processing. It's really... doesn't matter whether I sit in a bakery or a cafe, it's mass processing. No real hello, no good-bye. You can say good-bye, they won't reply, forget it. I don't like it if I go somewhere and do something and the person doesn't see me anymore. And the connection, it's just not there anymore.

For the tourists, food may be consumed “as the new “art” in the urban cultural experience” (Zukin 2010, 29), but for the residents such as Atalay, or Mehri, the focus on consumption comes at the cost of losing the sociable experience of eating in these places. They are not excluded from these eating places, but they miss the sociability between owner and patron, or among the patrons, that they feel existed before.

Not only for tourists, but also for the inhabitants of Berlin, or new residents, Neukölln and Kreuzberg-North present attractive areas for living. It is particularly in these two neighborhoods that the Turkish-Germans are aware of changes and they pick up the discussions around gentrification that are prominent from the media, or from friends.

So far, Devran feels that his particular Kiez has ‘*luckily*’ not yet been affected by processes of gentrification. Tekay says that ‘*strangely enough*’ there are more and more organic food stores opening. And Baysan thinks it is regrettable that there is a ‘*scene hype*’ coming up in Neukölln which threatens the Turkish flair in the area.

Devran and Baysan fulfill gentrifier characteristics: they are in their early thirties, living in partnerships with no children. Both have studied and work in the social service sector. They like to go to the movies, try out new restaurants and bars, and visit cultural events. For both of them, however, living in the inner city, in an up and coming neighborhood, is not “invested with ideas of status, style, and cosmopolitanism” (Bridge 2006a, 1967). Baysan is very critical, and dislikes that he is ‘*part of this scene-hype*’. He knows that he and his girlfriend are academics and hence exactly those who are seen as the drivers of gentrification processes.

Baysan’s development is particularly interesting. He has many German friends and – when he moved to Berlin for his studies – paid attention *not* to use the Turkish infrastructure, and avoid contact to other Turkish migrants. He was scared of becoming ‘*too Turkish*’. Over the years, however, he became very fond of the other Turkish migrants’ presence, even finds it ‘*very perfidious that I got so used to this Turkish flair*’. This change in self-identification illustrates Gans’ claim that ethnicity, the following of particular cultural and organizational practices, loses its importance. Rather, ethnic minorities are “more concerned with maintaining their ethnic identity, with the feeling

of being Jewish or Italian or Polish, and with finding ways of feeling and expressing that identity in suitable ways” (Gans 1979, 202). For Baysan, this feeling of being (partly) Turkish, was not important to him for a long time, he even rejected it. Meanwhile, in his Neukölln neighborhood, he re-discovered and values this Turkish background, and found ways to express it. He now uses the local Turkish infrastructure such as cafes, bakeries, green grocers, and particularly likes that you can always have a chat there. He is therefore worried about changes in the neighborhood. At stake for him is:

That it's unspectacular here, that it's quiet. That the people are down to earth. That the people aren't posers. That they don't walk around with mom and dad's money. That these are people you believe that they have mastered their lives, that they had to take a few hurdles, and that you meet people where you feel, yes, they have a history, they didn't always have an easy life, and it's not such a 'the world is colourful and funny', as in Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg or on the upper parts of Wilhelmstrasse.

Here again, Baysan implicitly refers to the moral worth of people, dismissing those with high economic capital which they have only ‘inherited’ from their parents. In this case “(m)oral judgements and claims to superiority were (.) made against the middle class, including the ease of their achievements” (Devine 2004, 208).

Certain parts of Mitte and particularly Prenzlauer Berg are the symbols of finished processes of gentrification²⁴. They figure as examples of where one does not want to live. What comes up, as in the previous accounts of the mover, is the issue of authenticity (Zukin 2010; 2011). Who belongs to a neighborhood, who makes a neighborhood feel 'real' – these are questions that the stayers think about. The advantage of the neighborhoods they live in is that people are down to earth, they are not as posh, snobby, or hipster-like as they are assumed to be in Prenzlauer Berg. Even certain parts of Neukölln are used as an image of how one does not want the neighborhood to be like, such as Wilhelmstrasse where many cafes and galleries have opened that clearly cater to the creative milieu, not the traditional minority residents from mostly lower social backgrounds.

Mehri and his spouse found it beyond disbelief what new in-movers to Kreuzberg-North look for in an apartment building. It is Mehri's spouse who tells about a diplomat

²⁴ The process of urban change in Prenzlauer Berg has been researched extensively, see for example Bernt 2012; Bernt & Holm 2009; Häussermann et al. 2002

from the U.S. embassy who had to decide between renting in an apartment in a newly built versus an old, renovated building.

And then she decided for the newly built, just because the stairs to the basement were wide enough, so she could take down her bike. That was really a criterion for her. Because there is a garage in the basement of this new building, so she doesn't have stress with the bike. Otherwise she would have preferred an old building. And we sat there – okay. And then she wants to live in a neighborhood with [a high share of] Turkish migrants.

This is an illustration of what it means to live in the same neighborhood, but in different social worlds (cf. Butler & Robson 2003; Butler & Robson 2001). The diplomat's residential choice is incomprehensible for Mehri and his spouse. For the diplomat, the Turkish flair of the area is more a wallpaper, because her lifestyle – as perceived by Mehri and his wife – has nothing in common with the Turkish population in the area. For Mehri and other Turkish-Germans, however, the Turkish presence is the characteristic of the neighborhood that they value most, not only as wallpaper, but for actual daily practices. As Butler and Robson (2001, 2157) have described for the residents of a London neighborhood, ethnic diversity “appears (.) to serve (...) as an ideologically charged and desirable backdrop for lives conducted at a remove from its multicultural institutions”. The stayers fear that this applies to the new in-movers.

Another example of the incomprehensiveness of the new in-movers is Erol's story about ‘hipsters’, who he finds are more and more moving into Kreuzberg-North:

What I realized, is that... how do you call them? Hipster, there are many now. And I made the experience... they don't care about their surroundings. I don't want to lump them together, but they are like that (...) One day, I was with my cousin, we were in the car, here at Kottbusser Tor, and there is this young, thin, biker on the street, and no car can pass by. Everyone is honking and he doesn't realize it. So I say 'I think he is mentally ill' and my cousin goes 'No, no, that's one of these new hipsters. They are like that'. He saw that before, he said, that they are very audacious, and... they don't notice anything.

The ‘hipster’ is a new figure symbolizing changes in the neighborhood, and particularly changes between residents, since he seems to disregard everything and everyone around him, hence not caring about his environment.

At stake for Erol, Mehri and other stayers are relations between people that present an “easy version of friendship and congeniality” (Oldenburg 1997, 65). The stayers value these relations. The influx of new residents who might value the presence of diversity but, in the Turkish-Germans’ eyes, are not interested in actual sociability or more durable relations with their fellow residents, is a symbol for the symbolic loss of the neighborhood.

A common effect of gentrification are rising rents. The stayers living in Neukölln and Kreuzberg-North are aware of this. Some have friends or family members who are affected by rent increases. They frame this problem as a negative development that mainly affects the migrant population.

Baysan only has to think of his own apartment building. He lives in a housing cooperative, where people pay a certain amount before renting and are then partly owners of the building. There are about eighty apartments in the renovated old building, but only two are rented to Turkish migrants and one to an Arab family.

I find that very crass, it makes me uncomfortable. (...) There are mostly students moving in, Germans, young people. Many, many graduates. (...) You feel a bit as if on an island. If you look how the people around us live. At Weberstrasse, only foreign names at the door plates. And then you take the parallel street and suddenly there are only German names on the door plates of the historical building, that’s really disgusting. Of course, not only Germans, there are few migrant names, but it is clearly another structure than in the wider environment.

Baysan is very reflexive in that he sees that he already lives in a building that many other migrants cannot afford. Since the resident structure of his building does not reflect the structure of the neighborhood, he considers the apartment building an ‘island’ of the better off people, which he does not perceive as positive.

Aydin complains about how the area around Kottbusser Tor, which was a no-go area for Germans for a long time, suddenly becomes very attractive. Rents are rising, living in the area is already a ‘luxury’, whereas ‘15, 20 years ago, Kreuzberg was absolute trash. It was the filthiest and trashiest place in Berlin’. The ones who have to leave now due to the increasing rents are the ‘real Kreuzberg people. If you look at it from that side, it is really painful. And they still feel as Kreuzberg people’. Aydin himself is partly affected

by these changes. He does not only live in the area, but also has his photography shop there. He would like to buy the commercial space but says that there is no way to do so, because he cannot even find out who actually owns that building, let alone how much the space would cost.

Baysan already talked about the 'ethnic dimension' of the gentrification process. Judging from his apartment building, he sees mainly native-Germans moving in. Moreover, he feels that Turkish and Arab long-term residents are treated differently than the new incoming student population, whose room to maneuver is much larger:

What makes me mad, what makes me really mad, but Neukölln cannot be blamed for that, is that I get the impression, if there is a student-Kiez emerging now, they are not really quiet at night, and I think that this is more tolerated than if it were noise coming from a Turkish café.

Fears centered on notions of symbolic ownership are not entirely beside the point, as Alper's story shows. He talks about a conflict in his old neighborhood Neukölln, where he still works. He is, among other things, working as an entrepreneur in the textile business, so he frequents the local textile market taking place twice a week. In that part of Neukölln, due to the location at the canal, some form of gentrification has taken place. Following the population change, a conflict emerged, centered on the market:

Take as an example the Neukölln textile market. That's an enrichment. A great enrichment. There are textiles, groceries, multi-culti. (...) And there is conflict, big action. What's going on? There are renters, they don't even live in this street, they joined forces to prohibit the Saturday-market. They founded a tenants' association, went to court. (...) So I went there, to hear what the people have to say. (...) One is complaining, so I ask him 'How long have you been living here?', 'Since two years', 'Do you have a wagon?', 'No', 'So why are you complaining? Do you live in the street?', 'No', 'So why do you live in an area with a market, which is so famous?'

The accounts here also speak against a simple, all-encompassing 'urban revanchism' (Smith 1996) of the middle classes. According to the hypothesis of the revanchist city, the Turkish-German stayers, particularly if they have enough economic capital, should be welcoming changes associated with gentrification. They are clearly not, though. Rather, they fear that the good relations between residents and the feeling of community will negatively change. This fear is particularly prevalent in parts of

Neukölln or Kreuzberg-North, rather than Wedding or Moabit, which have so far not seen a major influx of new residents or rising rents. Mehri, Baysan and other stayers, however, claim symbolic ownership of the neighborhoods, also in the name of other migrants. They therefore do not welcome the changes brought about by the influx of higher-income, native-German residents.

Zukin (2010; 2011) has dealt with gentrification, claiming that it threatens a neighborhood's authenticity. As Massey pointed out, the notion of authenticity is a problematic one, because neighborhoods and cities are ever changing. She writes against the notion of some "exclusivist localisms based on claims of some eternal authenticity" (Massey 2005, 20). Students, tourists, hipsters, etc. do have a right to live, or spend their free-time in a neighborhood, just as do the long-term residents. Interestingly, the negative attitudes or even aggressions are directed to certain population groups, but there is a lack of blaming for example politicians. Policy instruments such as capping rents, or setting rules for the selling of apartments or commercial space, could be effective means of regulating change and particularly ensuring the right to stay of the long-term, mostly lower class residents. However, as said, the Turkish-Germans make no reference to the influence of politicians in the process of neighborhood change.

Another important issue that Baysan brought up is the 'ethnic' dimension in the process of gentrification. Zukin (2010, 7) describes for several New York neighborhoods how authenticity in the form of "old ethnic neighborhoods" is destroyed by incoming gentrifiers. The choice of words suggests a juxtaposition of white gentrifiers versus lower class ethnic minorities. Overlooked here is the heterogeneity within ethnic (minority) groups, and of the process of change itself. Baysan and Devran can be seen as 'typical' gentrifiers, but they worry about the neighborhood changes they are actually part of. Alkalın only learned to appreciate his 'Kiez' in Kreuzberg-North when it became more diverse and was not anymore characterized mainly by traditional Turkish migrants. These Turkish-German stayers are at the same time very reflective about the changes, their own roles in it, and particularly how the changes might affect other (Turkish) migrants. Thus, the process of gentrification is not as straightforward as often

displayed and it includes more groups than simply white middle class gentrifiers and lower class ethnic minorities.

The notion of authentic communities is also prone to be romanticized. The Turkish-German stayers living in Wedding are welcoming of change. Nevcan, for example, wishes that there were more cafes in her neighborhood in Wedding and Sibel, likewise living in Wedding, is very happy about the newly opened café that sells organic coffee. It is not always the case that all ethnic minority residents are against change, and that they all value the 'ethnic neighborhood'.

To assess neighborhood change such as gentrification, then, we have to take into account the heterogeneity of the different groups involved and affected by the processes. Moreover, and related to that, we should avoid falling into claiming groupness, particularly of ethnic minorities.

Summarizing the above said, we see that through practical neighborhood use, and particularly the accompanied socializing in public space or third places like cafes, shops, Turkish grocery stores, public familiarity emerges and residents develop some form of community life. Relations between residents, even if they contain more extensive support, usually only create brief moments of community, and no relations or duties extend to the private realm.

In contrast to for example the findings of Wissink and Hazelzet (2012), the localness of contacts and interactions is a consequence of the length of residence, and not driven by age. On average, the stayers are not older than the movers, some of them are only in their early thirties, but still have very locally based contacts. A reason may be that some of these contacts are 'inherited' by their parents. If Kamer goes to the butcher that his dad took him to when he was a child, or Sati still knows the shoemaker from earlier years, relations have grown over the years. These long-known people who are regularly encountered at the same places are very important for public familiarity and a sense of community. Similar to Blokland's (2003b, 159) peer group of Rotterdam residents, "the location was filled with memories and stories about the past". Since community and sociability, resulting from public familiarity, are perceived to be important expressions of the Turkish cultural background, the stayers identify with the

neighborhood. Through symbolic use of the neighborhood, people can confirm their own identity – which makes understandable the worry they have towards changes of ‘their’ neighborhood, and the good relations with fellow residents. These worries and resentments towards changes, particularly gentrification, show how important and insightful it is to focus studies not only on the white middle classes, but on upwardly mobile migrants.

8.5. Summary of the chapter

The difference in symbolic neighborhood use, whether or not the Turkish-Germans identify with their place of residence, depends on three main factors. First of all, a neighborhood’s built environment has to provide *public places* and third places. Residents have to have the possibility to frequent facilities within the neighborhood in order to encounter fellow residents. Provided that such places exist, and people regularly make use of them, *public familiarity* can develop. This, again, is the prerequisite for a feeling of community. When fellow residents meet each other in the same places, and engage in moments of sociability, such as having a quick chat, a *feeling of community* emerges. The neighborhood is then a parochial realm, where residents ‘friendly recognize’ each other and engage in ‘parochial helpfulness’ (Kusenbach 2006). For the movers in urban areas, for example, foci promoting public familiarity are child-related institutions. For the stayers, the feeling of community emerges from the length of residence and meeting people in the streets, cafes and stores.

The movers living in more residential areas complain about the absence of places where they can meet fellow residents and share sociabilities. More than that, however, they feel rejected by the native-German residents, so that even shared foci, such as the children’s school or kindergarten, do not lead to interactions that are more regularized than those in the public sphere. In contrast, they feel that their native-German fellow residents see them as intruders to the neighborhood and its foci. In neighborhoods dominated by native-Germans, ethnicity is the “master status-determining trait. It tends to overpower, in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might

run counter to it" (Hughes 1945, 357), such as socioeconomic background. Whereas all Turkish-Germans have made experience with discrimination, racism and hostility, it is only the group of movers in neighborhoods dominated by native-Germans which experiences the neighborhood not as a safe space, but as one of exclusion and clear boundary drawing. Thereby, classification by the fellow residents is based on ethnic background.

For the stayers and the movers living in urban neighborhoods, there is a commonplace diversity. They do not stand out because there are higher shares of ethnic minority residents, and the Turkish-Germans feel that ethnic diversity in the neighborhood is valued by its residents.

What became clear in this chapter as well is that symbolic neighborhood use is actually about practices. It is not about some mental state that people have. There may be practical neighborhood use without symbolic one, but there is no symbolic neighborhood use without practical one. The Turkish-Germans use their neighborhood for identification through *practices* in the neighborhood, with fellow residents. If these practices emerge in a feeling of community, the neighborhood becomes a means for self-identification.

Chapter nine: Discussion & future research issues

Two main points emerge from this research, which deserve particular attention. On the one hand, the work has shown the need to move beyond the homogenizing view of ethnic minorities, and examine the many different ways in which upwardly mobile minority group members organize their social life in the city. On the other hand, the research on Turkish-Germans suggests that we have to think about community not as consisting of a network with weak and strong ties, but that community can emerge from public familiarity. For public familiarity, regular encounters and interactions in the neighborhood are important, but it does not depend on the development and maintenance of actual ties.

Beyond a homogenizing view of ethnic minorities

The upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans identify as bi-cultural, as having achieved a *mélange* of Turkish and German culture. There are no clear boundaries towards either Turkish or German ethnics, and neither is there a retreat to groupness. This bi-culturality, however, is often challenged by native-Germans who expect clear groupness. Although there seem to be such expectations, the successful Turkish-Germans feel that their socioeconomic contributions to German society are not being recognized. Having a Turkish family background and being economically successful is a combination that many native-Germans, according to the participants' experiences, do not think exists. When talking about groupness, or homophily, then, there is a first important lesson to be learned. Namely that we have to pay greater attention to social closure from the ethnic majority group, and not assume a 'natural' preference of people with ethnic minority background to have closed relationships with members from the same ethnic group.

That Turkish (or other) migrants are upwardly mobile is itself not adequately reflected in current research. Research on Turkish migrants in Germany, for example, too often takes on a deficit perspective, describing continued ethnic residential segregation, segregated friendship networks, or bad education outcomes (Blasius et al. 2008; Friedrichs & Triemer 2009; Gestring et al. 2004). In contrast, most studies on middle

classes and their residential and school choices, with few exceptions, only deal with the *white* middle classes, neglecting upwardly mobile ethnic minorities. However, the educational and residential strategies of the upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans described here indicate that they engage in strategies that are not different to those of white middle class parents (cf. also Butler & Hamnett 2011).

Going beyond a homogenizing view of ethnic minorities also leads to a more positive evaluation of certain ethnic minorities' practices and values. For example, the likewise rather deficit-centered view on migrants' family and kin relations (Gestring et al. 2004; Logan & Spitze 2009; Zorlu 2009) should be dismissed. In research on network diversity, weak and strong ties, or residential choice, most scholars base their research on a notion of family as they predominate among White Anglo Saxon Protestants, as Briggs et al. (2010) note. However, "other groups – not just people of color but many "white ethnics" as well – lead social lives centered on the *extended* family" (ibid., 116). Hence, when finding a high importance of family networks for ethnic minorities, this should not be interpreted as a deviance from the norm, but analyzed in its own right. Particularly in highly diverse societies and cities, a 'norm' of what kinds of relations are valuable, and what relations are potentially inhibiting (residential) choice, based entirely on the native ethnic group is not supportable.

This research has shown that for the Turkish-Germans, family and kin influence the residential choice process, but also their organization of daily life. This orientation, however, cannot be attributed to a need of daily practical support from extended family members, as ties to get by. The upwardly mobile Turkish-Germans do not depend on these ties to organize their daily life. Keeping these ties is a value in itself. Andreotti and Le Galès (2011) have shown how members of the professional elite in Madrid or Milan base their residential choice on considerations of where family members live. A high family orientation cannot be explained by a low social class background. This is why we need more research on that topic, focusing on how people in different cities across different countries, and different ethnic minority backgrounds interpret their family relations.

Even if apparently clear signs of groupness are found, we have to closely examine the reasons for that, and not immediately attribute these to ethnic minorities' preferences to socialize with ethnically similar people. The Turkish-Germans' networks are a case in point, since they hint at factors that can promote or hinder the development and maintenance of category-crossing ties.

Taking, for example, the networks of the Turkish-German movers, separated by whether they live in a residential or urban neighborhood, revealed counter-intuitive patterns. Those living in residential areas seemingly have more closed networks, particularly in ethnic terms, although these neighborhoods have higher shares of native-Germans residents, which, based on pure exposure, should be reflected in the movers' networks. The network-contacts of the movers in more urban areas, in contrast, are more diverse in ethnic and social class background. Since the Turkish-Germans in these two groups are similar in individual characteristics, and all value community-like relations in a neighborhood, the difference in network diversity cannot be explained with some presumed preference for having ties with fellow ethnics. From the accounts of Enginalp, Varol and others who live in residential areas, we know that hostility and racism of native-German fellow residents are part of the explanation of this pattern. The Turkish-Germans experience their German fellow residents as not welcoming of the new Turkish neighbor, but as excluding them from interaction, even in shared foci such as the children's school. The movers living in urban areas, just as the stayers, encounter a more open population, which is perceived to be embracing diversity, instead of keeping closed boundaries based on ethnic background. Hence, if we observe seemingly closed relationships among ethnic minorities, discrimination and racism from ethnic majority members should always be considered as a possible explaining factor, not necessarily homophilious preferences from the ethnic minority.

Community emerging from public familiarity, not networks

The second main issue coming up in this research refers to notions of community. Basari and Nevcan help out people in the neighborhood of work and residence, respectively, who they know from regular encounters in the streets. Yurday had

difficulties naming particular persons he would call on for different kinds of support. Ferda frequents her old neighborhood in order to run into and socialize with familiar faces, even for brief moments. These examples all speak against the dominating view in network and community studies, depicting community as a person's network, made up of weak and strong ties, located in the public or private sphere.

This apparently clear differentiation should be challenged. Lofland's notion of the parochial realm points in the right direction, but so far, this in-between of public and private sphere has not been inquired enough. However, as learned from this study, relations in this realm have to be taken seriously because they play a crucial role for place attachment and processes of identification.

Our understanding of community, then, should be related to public familiarity, not necessarily, and not only, to networks. Public familiarity needs public space where people encounter each other and can form the basis for interaction. Hence, the built environment has to provide public and third places, and residents then have to use them. If residents spend time outside and use public and third places, they share some parts of their lives with other residents, through sharing rounds and frequenting the same foci. The development and maintenance of a network, in contrast, is not dependent on public space, because people can privatize it, they are not dependent on encounters and interactions in the public sphere. Friends can meet in a public place such as a restaurant, but in that moment privatize that space. Using a public space, in that instance, does not include getting familiar with it and its other users.

The focus on network research, including the separation of the private and public sphere, is mainly prevalent in the Global North. There appears to be a lack of thinking about community differently than being made up of networks. Researching community, including also the transfer of resources (as seen in the social capital chapter), however, needs to be opened up and include notions of public familiarity. The retreat of urbanites to the private sphere, including the privatization of community, as stated by authors such as Jacobs (1992), Sennett (1976), or Oldenburg (1997) refers to American Cities, so it is again a 'Western' perspective. Their accounts do not refer to possible different understandings of the public and private sphere, based on different

cultural or socioeconomic background, for example. As this research suggests, notions of the private and public sphere might be influenced by a white Anglo Saxon perspective, which has not paid enough attention to how different groups in the city also have different notions and ideas about community life, about private and public relations.

Allowing community to not only be related to networks, but also to public familiarity has methodological consequences. As the examples with Yurday or Sibel showed, not being able to name single contacts for the network generating questions does not mean that there is no community. On the contrary: Their community is extensive, but it does not depend on private ties, but mostly on routinized encounters in particular places, of which the neighborhood may be one. Assessing (exclusively) networks does not capture these kinds of relations. Ethnographic research has analyzed life in neighborhoods, its streets, public and third places (Anderson 2003; Duneier 2000). However, the focus in such ethnographic research was mostly on one particular group, often a clearly disadvantaged one. The ways in which encounters between categorically different groups happen, how transfer or denial of resources, through word of mouth for example, occurs, is hardly researched so far. There should be more research on the 'cosmopolitan canopies', where people of different ethnic background "present themselves as civil and friendly" and where "(o)n occasion (.) they may interact, learning something surprising about others they had not known before" (Anderson 2011, 70). Moreover, we have to research what happens in kindergartens, schools, cafes, or bakeries, where people encounter each other and may interact, why they share or withhold certain information and to whom. This is so far largely a blind spot, which requires more scholarly attention. The neighborhood may have lost significance for the development and maintenance of *ties*, but it may not have lost that significance for daily interactions, where people share sociable relations, and where they can learn about opportunities for getting ahead.

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